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[No. 10.]

DR. PHILIP'S LETTER.

A valuable letter from the Rev. JOHN PHILIP, D. D., Superintendent of the Missions of the London Society at the Cape of Good Hope, &c. to the Society of Inquiry on Missions, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. has recently been published. Of the writer, the following account is given in the Preface by the Rev. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D. "It will scarcely be necessary for me to state, that the Rev. Dr. Philip, the author of the following deeply interesting communication, is an able and distinguished minister of the gospel, who has resided for many years in South Africa; and is the Superintendent of all the missionary stations in that region, which are in connexion with the London Missionary Society. Dr. Philip has, in a particular manner, distinguished himself as the able advocate and undaunted defender of the interests of the Aborigines of South Africa, against the oppressive measures of the government and people, of the European colony, at the Cape. In consequence of some publications in which the cruel treatment of these people by the colonial government was laid before the British public, he was subjected to a legal prosecution, and to a heavy pecuniary mulct. It is believed, however, that by the generosity of his friends in England, he was relieved from the embarrassment which this fine must have produced in his affairs. He is evidently a man of talents, possessing a bold, energetic mind, and highly qualified for the arduous station which he occupies. During the last year, as appears from the letter now published, he employed no less than seven months in a visitation of all the missionary stations in South Africa which are connected with the London Missionary Society. His opinions and suggestions respecting missions to the continent of Africa, contained in this paper, are highly deserving of attention as being the result of much experience, at this time, when the attention of the Christian public is so particularly directed to that continent, and is occupied with plans of colonization, and of missionary establishments in that dark region."

The letter of Dr. Philip abounds in interesting particulars in relation to several African nations or tribes, from which we should take pleasure in making copious extracts, did our limits permit. His suggestion concerning a *Native Agency*, and *Education*, is too important to be omitted:

"You may as well," says Dr. PHILIP,

"Think of supplying all the continent of Africa with bread or corn from Europe, as to supply it with teachers and the means of instruction from Europe. The seed-corn may be furnished; but it never can become general, unless it shakes, and stocks the country to which the first handfuls are carried. This great object has hitherto been too much neglected in missionary work. The work of God in the conversion of the world has never been carried on to any extent without a native agency; and that work has always prospered in proportion as that agency has been numerous and effective. The Apostles preached the gospel within the pale of the civilized world, ordained Bishops and Elders in every city in which churches had been formed, and left the newly appointed office-bearers to carry on and extend the work of God, while they employed themselves in preaching the gospel in the regions beyond them. Even at the period of the reformation, the reformers could have done nothing without the sympathies of the people, and without a native agency. In countries which have been civilized by

Christianity, agents are easily found in a great measure prepared, and what is wanting is easily supplied. But in savage and barbarous countries, we can only look for a native agency by the general education of the people. I say *general education*; for we have found by experience that we must raise the community itself to a certain level, before such an agency can be found as will prove to be of any efficiency in the general spread of the gospel. When the power of religion is first felt in its quickening influence at a missionary station, the change is so marked, that the individuals thus awakened are frequently the means of communicating what they have felt to others; but in persons of this description there is so much ignorance mixed with their new light, so much of the old leaven remaining, and the fancy is so much more powerful than the judgment, that they constantly stand in need of their teachers to watch over them; and few of them indeed can be *appointed* as authorized teachers of others.

"To raise such a community or people to the state I have described by education, the work should be begun as soon as possible. If the children of parents in such a state of society are not put under instruction till they are 7, 8, or 9 years of age, after all the education which can be given them, they will differ very little from their parents. Conducting our schools on this plan, generation after generation will pass away under the most discouraging circumstances to the ordinary observer. In 1819 education had made little progress among the Hottentots. Something had been done, but nothing in proportion to what might have been expected, or that could be turned to any account; and many engaged in the missionary work assured me that I should never be able to raise up a native agency to assist us in the work among the Hottentots. Such a prophecy, under such circumstances, could not fail to insure its own accomplishment; for I have invariably found where a missionary despaired of improving the condition of the natives, he as invariably fails to enact the object. But we had at that time an example of a native boy at Pacaltsdorp conducting a small school to my satisfaction; and it was evident to me that there was no solid ground for the objection: and that if we failed in this object, our labour would prove in vain in the end. The schools then at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis were in a very low state. The parents felt no interest in the education of their children; the attendance was very irregular; indolent habits had been contracted before the scholars came under instruction; and it was difficult to say from the appearance of the schools, whether the children or the masters found their books the most irksome. From the want of labourers, and other business of paramount importance upon my hands, nothing could be done to improve the schools till 1821. From that period, through the means which were adopted, the schools were better attended, and a degree of life and animation was thrown into them, which encouraged our hopes. About this period my arduous conflict with the local authorities and the colonial government commenced; and the attention of the missionaries was withdrawn from the schools, being almost entirely occupied in correspondence with the constituted authorities of the colony, and executing their commands; which were often multiplied with no other apparent view but to annoy them and drive them from their stations. During that struggle the importance of the schools was not, however, lost sight of, but owing to various causes I need not enumerate, much less was done than I wished to see effected." p. 17.

The subjoined passage concerning colonies as a means of instructing and christianizing Africa, deserves, as it has been justly observed, the serious attention of both the advocates and the opposers of the Colonization Society.— We may add that the opinions which it presents, have always been entertained by the most enlightened friends of the American Colonization Society.

"I say nothing of the advantages America may gain from the new colony of Liberia, or of the advantages the people of color may gain from becoming citizens of this new country. I leave such questions to be settled by the citizens of the United States, who are by their local knowledge better qualified than I am to decide them. But so far as our plans for the future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe.— Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian governments than that which this new settlement presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent.— From some hints I have seen in some of the English papers, I perceive that you will have some difficulties to encounter in the prosecution of your present plan. It is the fate of every good plan for the melioration of the human race to be opposed, particularly at its commencement; and the virulence of the opposition is generally in proportion to the excellence of the plan proposed. But we have this to encourage us in our endeavors to persevere in the pursuit of a good object, that it must in the end triumph. I cannot for a moment suppose that ever America will force the poor people of color to go to Liberia. Such a mode of proceeding would neither accord with the liberties nor good sense of your countrymen. And if every slave proprietor in the United States offer to make his slaves free, and the slaves are willing to accept their freedom on the condition that they will exchange America for Liberia, I can see nothing in such an arrangement to excite or nourish a spirit of hostility against your new settlement. Care should be taken, however, that the slaves liberated on this principle should not be the worst slaves on an establishment, or slaves of bad character. If your new settlement should ever come to be crowded with persons of such a description, disorder, despotism, and ruin must follow, or at least must be in danger of following. As I do not see any



American publications at the Cape of Good Hope, and as all the information I have of what is doing on your side of the water, is from the scanty notices of American affairs I can glean from the English papers, what I say on this subject is to be understood as spoken under correction. But with the information I have, I would suggest whether it would not be well to give the whole of the undertaking a religious character, and to invite the religious and benevolent portion of the black people to unite in it for the purpose of evangelizing and civilizing Africa. If your new settlement is to be so conducted as to answer the expectations to which it has given rise, the Committee or Board which may have the management of its affairs must keep in operation an efficient gospel ministry, and an efficient system of education. The natives immediately around the new settlement should be at once supplied with missionaries.—Missionary stations should be formed at convenient distances from each other, so as to admit of a communication between them. And with a faithful and able missionary at each station, you should have schoolmasters and mechanics, with all the apparatus necessary for the attainment of the object you propose. In this way you may evangelize and civilize one circle after another, till you have brought a vast portion of the African continent within the pale of the Christian church and the civilized world. This is what we are doing in South Africa, and would soon be able to do to a great extent, were not the generality of our white people more partial to the old system of seizing the country and then the property of the people, and then the people themselves, for their own use, than they are to any plan which has for its object the destruction of caste, and the elevation of the aborigines of the country to an equal participation with themselves in the blessings of liberty and civilization.” pp. 14, 15.

“The next question which occurs to me, and which I shall answer as briefly as possible, is as to the manner in which we may expect the gospel to proceed in its advances over this vast and benighted continent. Reasoning from the circumstances of this colony, from what is to be learned of the progress of Christianity from history, and from what has come under my own observation, my decided opinion is, that the progress of Christianity in Africa must be slow; that its light must radiate from certain well chosen positions; and that the districts in the neighborhood of the first position chosen, should be enlightened; and that every new missionary establishment must keep what has been gained, while it is extending its conquests in the regions beyond it. The growth of Christianity in such a country should be like that of an empire; which is enriched and strengthened by every inch of new territory which extends the line of its frontier. What is gained is by this means secured; and out of the materials accumulated in this manner, the conquests still to be made, become easy and rapid. Every new village brought within the pale of the church increases her resources, and adds to the efficiency of her native agency. By this means, in going forth to fresh conquests she becomes to her enemies ‘bright as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.’

“Every aid should be afforded by your missionary societies to your new and interesting settlement. By an efficient ministry and due attention to the schools of Liberia, the foundation of a future empire may be laid in that settlement, that may in a short time do much to evangelize the surrounding country to a great extent. When the government of that country has gained the confidence of the nations beyond it, multitudes of those nations will put themselves under its protection, and among such people you will find employment for a large body of missionaries.

“My views on this subject cannot be more happily expressed than they have been by one of your own countrymen, the late Rev. Samuel J. Mills, in the following extract:—“If by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in a suitable time go out from that settlement, and form others, and prove the occasion of great good.”

“The Memoirs of that interesting man did not come into my hands till a few days ago, and till I had written my own sentiments upon the subject. Mentioning to a friend that I was very anxious to see something respecting the settlement of Liberia, the Memoir of Mr. Mills was put into my hands, and in perusing it I was very much struck with the largeness and comprehension of Mr. Mills’ views.

“There is so exact a correspondence between his views as to the best mode of evangelizing and civilizing Africa, and my own, that one seemed to me as if it were a copy of the other. From the first notice I had of your settlement of Liberia, I contemplated it under the same aspects as those under which Mr. Mills appeared to have viewed it, when he was sacrificing his health and life for its establishment. And I cannot help feeling surprised that Mr. Mills with his opportunities should have arrived so soon at the just conclusions to which he had come on this subject.

“The whole of Mr. Mills’ Memoirs, (which I have perused at one sitting) convinces me that from your intercourse with the native tribes of America, or from some other cause, that you have much more enlarged views on this subject than are, generally speaking, to be found in England. But however far you may have got before my countrymen on this point, you will not be displeased to find that the fruit of fourteen years’ experience which I have had in Africa, goes to confirm all the views of your own enlightened and lamented countryman.” pp. 25, 26.

DR. PHILIP gives the following account of the *Zoolahs*. It will be remembered that a mission to this people is contemplated by the A. B. C. F. M.

“The people called *Zoolahs* are subject to two powerful chiefs, Dinga and Mosalekatsi.

Chaka, the late brother of Dingaan, appears to have extended his authority over all the other chiefs of that people. But on the death of Mosalekatsi's father, the young man by the advice of his counsellors threw off all allegiance to Chaka; and so far as I have been able to obtain information, the territory of Mosalekatsi appears to extend from behind De la Goa Bay to the 23d or 22d degree of latitude, immediately behind the Portuguese territory in that quarter. The Zoolahs are originally from the same stock with the Bechuanas; they speak the same language, and have many of the same customs; but they resemble their brethren the Caffers on the eastern frontier of the colony more than the tribes farther in the interior. Like the Caffers they go naked, and they are the most warlike and courageous people we have heard of in Africa in modern times. Mosalekatsi was visited by Mr. Moffat and Mr. Pellissier, and both speak of him as an extraordinary man. To an address the most mild and winning he unites great capacity for war, great ambition, and like many other ambitious conquerors, he shows none of that weakness which allows any feelings of compassion to come between him and the attainment of his object. His mode of government is as peculiar as any other feature in his character. His ambition is to be a great king; he has thirty-two African kings or chiefs under him. When he subdues a nation or tribe, he takes full possession of the country, and divides it among his warriors. The old people he generally destroys; the young he preserves for future service; the boys are sent to his cattle posts or military camps to be trained up for war; the girls he disposes of in a similar manner, to be kept as rewards to his young soldiers. Every acre of land, every head of cattle, and every man, woman, and child in the country are the property of the king. The young women go perfectly naked till they are given in marriage; no one can have a wife till the king is pleased to give him one; before marriage no intercourse is allowed between the sexes; to attempt the chastity of a young woman is to incur the penalty of death, and to be accused is to be found guilty. The young men are allowed to see the young women, but that is all; and when they are exhibited to them before they go out to battle, they are reminded that these are the rewards that Mosalekatsi confers upon the brave. No young man can have a wife from the king till he has distinguished himself in battle; and when he receives a wife from the hand of the king, he has cattle and land allowed him with her as her dowry. Every subsequent display of courage in battle is rewarded with an additional wife, and an addition of cattle. With some little variation, the same practice is said to obtain among the Zoolahs under Dingaan. Whether the Zoolahs have improved upon the Mahomedan paradise, or whether Mahomet borrowed his idea on that subject from the ancestors of the Zoolahs, it may be difficult to determine; but the Zoolah Chiefs, particularly Mosalekatsi, exhibit the system in greater perfection than it was in the mind or the power of Mahomet to show its workings. The false prophet promised his followers their paradise beyond the grave, but Mosalekatsi holds it up to them as a reward which they are to enjoy in the present life. To the most powerful motive that any tyrant could place before the human mind in the embittered state of human nature as it is found without religion, Mosalekatsi adds another, as terrible by its restraining, as the one we have noticed is in its impelling force. He allows none of his soldiers to desert his post; he must conquer or die.

"Last year the soldiers of this tyrant invaded the Bechuana country; and the unwarlike Bechuanas fell before them like sheep under the knife of the butcher. The whole of the Bechuana has been desolated as far as Lattakoo, which is yet untouched; and the people of Mosalekatsi possess the country. When I arrived at Lattakoo, on my late journey, I found the people, subjects of Mahuri, and the remains of the Barologs and the Baharutsi, who had escaped the slaughter of Mosalekatsi's bands, in the most distressing situation. The remains of the destroyed tribes were suffering by famine, and the whole of the people were (to use their own expression) "like dead men," from an apprehension that they might be visited by Mosalekatsi and destroyed the next hour, as the other Bechuana tribes had been. I had intended to visit Mosalekatsi; but although I had no apprehension as to my own personal safety, I could not be sure that my journey would protect the helpless thousands around me, who were looking to me for assistance, as if I had an army at my command. After consulting with the chiefs and the French missionaries, who had retreated to this place on the approach of Mosalekatsi, I returned to Griqua Town, accompanied by Mr. Lemue, and followed by the chief Mahuri, to consult with Weterboer, the chief of Griqua Town about the means of preserving what remained of this people. The plan formed was, that they should all fall back, to the number of perhaps 20,000, on the territory of Weterboer, that he might be able to throw a shield over them, should they be attacked by Mosalekatsi.

"If any one is disposed to ask—What has Christianity done for Europe? or what will it do for the native tribes of Africa? we refer such an inquirer to the spectacle now before us.—Before the Grikwas embraced Christianity, they were as helpless as the Bechuanas; and such is the difference now between the Grikwas and the Bechuanas, that we see perhaps 30,000 Bechuanas looking up to the Christian chief of Griqua Town, who cannot perhaps muster more than 200 horsemen, as their sole dependence and their only safeguard against the overwhelming and ferocious band of Mosalekatsi.

"It is an interesting fact, that not only are the Korannas and Caffers and Bechuanas in the country around the Colony desirous of having missionaries with them, but even Dingaan and Mosalekatsi unite in expressing the same desire; and we have not the slightest reason to suspect that missionaries would be less safe with them than among the other more peaceable tribes around us." p. 11, 12.



### “THE PROTEST.”

Since our remarks in the last number of the Repository on the Protest which appeared in July last in London against the American Colonization Society, we have read, in the New York Spectator, the subjoined letter, on that subject, from Mr. DUNCAN.

“The Protest,” says the Spectator, “exacted from the lamented Wilberforce, almost in his last moments, with the added names of others, with many of whom that venerated philanthropist had not been wont to associate, has been bruited forth with great parade by the enemies of the American Colonization Society. The following reply, valuable for its intrinsic excellence, derives increased importance from its being the production of a foreign writer, an eminent divine, who could have had no conceivable object in making the worse appear the better reason.”

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*To the Editor of the Dumfries and Galloway Courier.*

DEAR SIR: In your number of the 28th ult. I observed inserted a copy of a protest, subscribed by some leading members of the Anti-Slavery Society against the American Colonization Society, to which, however, I was glad to find you abstain from giving your own direct sanction, on the ground that you are not at present prepared to give a decided opinion on the subject. The highly respectable names attached to that protest bestow upon it an importance which assuredly would not otherwise belong to it; and as I do not remember to have read in your columns a single statement on the other side of the question, I think it due to the cause of truth and of humanity that your numerous readers should be put in possession of some facts, which may serve to counteract the effects of that imposing *ex parte* document.

Of the names attached to the protest in question, those which will carry the greatest weight with unprejudiced men, are Wm. Wilberforce, Wm. Smith, Wm. Allen, and perhaps S. Lushington. Almost all the rest, such as T. F. Buxton, Wm. Evans, T. Macauley, &c. are men wedded to a party, and strongly biassed by exclusive zeal for one great cause; while at least one of them has a deep pecuniary interest in the colony of Sierra Leone, which cannot fail to influence him in resisting any change in the system of African colonization.—Now it is worthy of remark, that two of the most influential of the individuals mentioned, viz. Wm. Allen and Wm. Smith, becoming ashamed of their ill-judged rashness, have had the manliness publicly to withdraw their names from the protest, and have been joined in this act of retraction by Daniel O’Connell, to whose signature, however, on whatever side it appears, I cannot attach much weight. As to the revered name of Wm. Wilberforce, it must have been procured by the solicitations and partial representations of the Anti-Slavery party while he lay upon his death-bed; and I can scarcely doubt that had it pleased Providence to prolong his valuable life but for a few days, he too would have been disabused, and would have joined his benevolent and candid friends in publicly disavowing the protest. But alas! the hand which subscribed that name is powerless in the grave.

So much for the authority of the document. And now as to its truth. The principal objections which it states against the American Colonization Society, are, 1st, That it *obstructs* the extinction of slavery; 2nd, That it fosters and increases the spirit of *caste*, or the dislike which exists between the white and coloured population in America; and 3rd, That it exposes the coloured race to great persecution in order to *force* them to emigrate. Now these are heavy charges, which, could they be substantiated, would bring down on the Society the execration, instead of the blessings, of every friend of humanity. But after carefully perusing the various publications which have appeared on both sides, not a doubt remains on my mind that such objections are altogether destitute of any solid foundation.

1st, The Colonization Society is said to obstruct the extinction of slavery. Now, the only ground for this allegation seems to be that it is not an *Anti-Slavery Society*. It lays down a fundamental rule that it will not embarrass itself with this difficult question, with which the Constitution of the American Government renders it a matter of more than ordinary delicacy to meddle. On the propriety of such a rule, I shall not at present comment; but it does seem to say much for the perfect impartiality of the Society in acting up to it, that it has been assailed with equal virulence by the partisans on both sides. If the *ultra* supporters of immediate emancipation in this country denounce it as *retarding* the destruction of slavery, the slave-owners, in America, on the other hand, accuse it still more bitterly of accelerating that consummation. This is no gratuitous statement, for I have ample documents to prove it. One extract may suffice:—

The Colonization Society has found it necessary to defend itself against the hostility of the slave owners in South Carolina. And a quotation from the *African Repository*, in which that defence appears, will, I think, at once set this part of the charge at rest, as it incontestably proves that practical men in America, take a view of the moral influence of the Society

the very reverse of that which the protesters have adopted. "It may be said," says its defender against the slave owners, "that the Society has expressed the opinion that slavery is a moral and political evil, and that it has regarded the scheme of Colonization as presenting motives and exerting an influence at the South, favorable to gradual and voluntary emancipation. This is true. And is this Society to be held up as odious and dangerous because it avows the opinion that slavery is an evil? Is not this a truth inscribed, as it were, upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the world, and the heart of man? Would not the denial of it be a denial of the fundamental principle of all free Government?" "It is the success of the Society,—it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization, and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise without restraint the purest and the noblest feeling of our nature.

"These strenuous asserters of the right to judge for themselves in regard to their domestic policy are alarmed at a state of things which secures the same right to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves for the purpose of colonization shall be denied to the master? Do they feel that in this country, and this age, the influence of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful, and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable. Such men have more to do than to counteract the efforts of our Society. Few and feeble, even in the States of the South, they must gird themselves for warfare against all the friends of virtue and liberty, of man and God."—Vol. vi. p. 205, 206, and 208. Such is the line of defence which the friends of the Colonization Society find it necessary to adopt in America. There they nobly and indignantly contend against the supporters of slavery, while in this country they discover themselves placed in the unaccountable position of being forced to parry the attacks of its enemies.

But it is said that the practical effect of the Colonization Society has been found to be injurious to the interests of emancipation, and an imposing statement has been brought forward by Mr. Garrison and his friend Mr. Cropper, to prove, by public documents, that since the establishment of the Colonization Society the progress of emancipation has decreased. I have examined this statement, and find it to be altogether fallacious. Into the grounds of this conviction my desire to curtail my observations as much as possible, prevents me from at present entering in detail, and it may be sufficient for my present object to state from an extract of public documents now before me, that in 1810, the number of free blacks in the United States was 186,446, and in 1820, it was 233,530, making an increase during these ten years of 47,084. It was about the close of this period that the Colonization Society commenced its operations, and at the end of the first ten years of its existence, viz. in 1830, the number of free blacks was 319,599, making the extraordinary increase of 86,069; the ratio of increase being considerably more than doubled!

With what face then can the enemies of the Colonization Society allege that its operation has been unfriendly to emancipation. By a perverted use of arithmetic, Garrison falsely maintains that the Society has doomed "nearly 300,000 slaves to ruthless bondage," who but for "its withering influence," would have been emancipated, whereas, so far is this from being true, that were we to adopt his own basis of calculation, it would appear that the moral power of this Institution has, in ten years, actually broken the chains of 51,754 victims of slavery. I do not say that this basis is correct; because other causes have doubtless co-operated, and the increase of the blacks, previously free, ought, in fairness, to be deducted.—But the utter fallacy of Garrison's position is sufficiently evident.

I shall find no difficulty in proving the other objections contained in the protest to be equally fallacious; but I must reserve what I have to say on these subjects for another letter.

I am, yours truly,

HENRY DUNCAN

RUTHWELL MANSE, 9th Sept., 1833.

## No. II.

*To the Editor of the Dumfries and Galloway Courier.*

DEAR SIR,—I think the statements in my last must have satisfied your readers of the futility of the first charge preferred by a few ultra members of the Anti-Slavery Society in their protest against the American Colonization Society, and must have, therefore, diminished their surprise on hearing that such men as William Allen and William Smith had taken the strong step of withdrawing their names from the protest, to which they had previously been induced by *ex parte* statements to affix their signatures. I am now to redeem my pledge of last week by shewing that the other objections, brought forward in the protest, are equally unfounded.

It is objected that the Colonization Society "increases the spirit of *caste*, or the dislike which exists between the white and coloured population of America." Now that there does actually exist, among the whites of the United States, a very strong and inveterate dislike of the coloured population is as true as it is lamentable, but there is no reason whatever to be-



lieve that this dislike has in any degree been fostered by the Colonization Society. I am persuaded, indeed, that the very reverse is the case. The Society in question took its rise in the compassion of some benevolent individuals for the free negroes, a numerous and most unhappy race in America, whom they saw placed in circumstances of degradation, the most humiliating and the most hopeless. They perceived that the road of honourable ambition was barred up to this proscribed *caste* at every avenue, by the unjust prejudices of their proud fellow mortals, of a different and lighter coloured tribe—their superiors in numbers and civilization, and therefore in power. Belonging to this tribe themselves, and thus being intimately acquainted with their character, they were well aware of the impracticability of any attempt to subdue these prejudices by reasoning or by any other direct influence—they knew that so long as any portion of the black population should remain within the Union in a state of abject slavery, the disgrace and contempt attendant on that condition would not fail to be reflected on the whole species; and they knew also that just in proportion to the growth of the one party in numerical strength, would be the virulence of the hostile feelings entertained by the other; because fear, which is always malignant in little minds, would come proportionally to operate along with deeply cherished pride and prejudice.

The philanthropists of America, therefore, in considering the question how their swarthy fellow creatures could be rescued from their miserable condition, must have instantly rejected the chimerical scheme of amalgamating the two classes by the mere force of moral suasion; and the only alternatives which remained for them must have appeared to be, that of giving up the cause in despair, or of discovering some means by which the blacks might be entirely removed from the domination of the whites. Happily a scheme occurred which promised, partially at least, to effect the latter alternative in a manner highly advantageous to the interests of the despised race whose cause had been espoused. It was known that on the coast of Africa, from which the forefathers of the blacks had been treacherously deported, vast tracts of land of the finest quality, capable of raising in abundance the most valuable produce, was lying uncultivated, and therefore waste and unprofitable;—it was known also, that while nature had denied to the whites the power of colonizing and improving these regions by rendering the climate fatal to their constitution, she had liberally granted this power to the blacks, whose frames were so accommodated to their native clime as to resist what was noxious in the influence of the tropical heat, and even to find that influence salubrious. On these two facts, the Colonization Society founded the principle of its operations; and it has not been disappointed. The colony which it has already planted in Liberia, composed entirely of free blacks, has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of its projectors, and is rapidly rising even to commercial importance.

Will it still be maintained that this system increases the prejudice and dislike of the whites against the blacks? If so, I ask in what respects? Does the existence of a society whose object is to place the black man in a position where he can stand upright and independent, and may be said for the first time to be really free, increase that prejudice and dislike? Or does the actual success of this most benevolent object increase it? On the contrary, I am sure no unprejudiced man can doubt that, while the kindly feeling of the Colonization Society towards the negro race is calculated to remove much of the alienation which has hitherto existed between the two races in America, the elevation of moral and intellectual character which the free blacks of Liberia are achieving for themselves cannot fail to be reflected on the whole swarthy family; and the continued success and extension of that admirable establishment seems to me to promise happier results on their future destiny than all the labours of the Anti-Slavery Society, meritorious as those labours may have been. Why have the whites been hitherto able to perpetuate the horrors of slavery and the slave trade? Just because the whole negro population in every part of the world is in a state of moral degradation. They are feeble, uncultured, and despised savages, and therefore are they treated by the whites as beasts of burden. But raise their character and you will immediately raise their states. Let but a small portion of them become civilized, intelligent, and influential, and from that small portion a respectability will be diffused over the whole mass—increase that portion and you will increase the respectability, till it become a matter not of doubtful theory, but of strong demonstration, that the black man stands naturally on an equality with his white brother in mental powers as well as in moral feeling, and has therefore a right to demand an equality of privileges and of station. It ought to be regarded as by no means the least important benefit which the Colonization Society is rendering to the cause of the negro people, that, instead of increasing the barrier which prejudice has unhappily placed between them and their fairer brethren, its operations have a direct tendency to diminish that barrier and finally to remove it.

The only other objection against the Colonization Society which I have thought it necessary to specify as contained in the protest, is, that "it exposes the coloured race to great persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate." The meaning of this incredible allegation will be better understood by putting it in the form and words of the question asked by Garrison, and so convincingly answered by Mr. Cresson. "Does not that Society," says he, "recommend the expulsion of the slaves from the United States as the condition of their emancipation?" To this Mr. Cresson replies, "Certainly not—every person hitherto colonized has been a voluntary emigrant. The Society, to quote its own words, 'disavow and reprobate every coercive measure—discard all restraint—ask no bounties—solicit no compulsion by which to produce emigration;' and declare, 'That slavery is a moral and political evil, is a truth inscribed as it were upon the firmament of heaven, the face of the earth, and the heart of man; the denial of it would be the denial of the fundamental principle of all free govern-



ments.' In those States where the laws exist against emancipation on the spot, it presents a means of defeating those wicked enactments, over which it can exercise no direct control.'

I do not know that any other answer than this is required. The allegation is, in the face of the world, positively denied, and even if it had not been so, the idea of using compulsion appears to be as ridiculous as in a free country it would be impracticable. And why should they persecute the blacks? By the confession even of their enemies vast numbers of coloured people voluntarily offer themselves for emigration, more than they have the means of transporting to Africa. They have no need, therefore, of *unwilling* settlers, and it would be against the interests of the colony to receive them.

The accusation and the defence are now before the public, and it is for them to judge.—But let it never be forgotten that the cause of African Colonization stands on other grounds altogether than that of the views and intentions of the Americans; and even if it could be proved that the Society in question has been actually guilty of all the malignity and all the malpractices of which Mr. Garrison and his supporters of the Anti-Slavery Society have, in the spirit of party, been so forward to accuse it, the principle as it affects Africa, and as it regards Great Britain in reference to the debt which she owes to that injured continent, remains altogether unweakened and unchanged. If it be true, which the protesters are candid enough to admit, or rather are not bold enough to deny, that the Colony of Liberia promises to be a blessing to Africa, that it has satisfactorily solved the problem as to the capacity of negroes for forming a civilized and well-conditioned society, that it has already made an astonishing and most salutary impression on many thousands of native tribes in its neighbourhood—an impression which is rapidly extending, and which strengthens as it extends; that it has put an effectual stop to the slave trade wherever its influence has reached; and that no instrument has yet been invented or even conceived, either like or second to it, in the power of diffusing the blessings of civilization and of Christianity among the African race—if all this be true, then most assuredly there is in these facts a call on British humanity and even on British justice, which no real friend of the negroes will find it easy to resist.

I shall not at present enter on the wide and tempting field which these considerations open up; but I may be permitted just to say, in a single word, that if this country had expended in the colonization of Africa with free blacks after the manner of Liberia, but half the sum it has so fruitlessly and fatally expended on the establishment at Sierra Leone, the whole slave coast of that continent might, ere this, have been fringed with active and intelligent communities of Christian negroes; and thus the slave trade with all its horrors would have been suppressed; the entire continent of Africa would have been in a state of moral renovation; and it might not even have been too much to expect that the descendants of the African race in other parts of the world, partaking of the improved character of the stock from which they originally sprang, would have burst their chains, and, at least in some favoured situations, would have taken their station side by side with their European brethren, free, respected and prosperous. Is it yet too late to try the experiment? I am yours truly,

HENRY DUNCAN.

Ruthwell Manse, 19th Sept. 1833.

#### *From the Presbyterian.*

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—The question is not, whether slavery is an evil; this is conceded. It is not whether it is desirable that every man in America were a freeman; this is conceded. It is not whether the Colonization Society is, in its present form, insufficient to cure this dire disease; this is also conceded. But it is, whether we can justify ourselves before heaven, in casting from us, as a nefarious deception, this scheme of colonization, which promises so many benefits to the free blacks, so many mercies to Africa, and such inducements to the liberation of slaves. It is not whether the Colony, like a talisman, can all at once charm away the curse; we lament that it cannot; but whether, in its measure, within its proper limits, and by its professed mode of agency, it may not mitigate the evil at home, while it tends to check the villainous trade at its very sources.

The Colonization Society has been falsely traced to an origin which it spurns—to the cupidity of slave-holders. Its infant struggles into life were, on the contrary, accompanied by the prayers and Christian counsel of men whose spirits groaned over the degradation of the African. We well remember the time when, in childhood, we listened to the ardent exposition of the immature plan from the lips of Robert Finley. It was not *then* imagined by any that this good man was adjusting a scheme for the perpetuation of slavery. It has been only lately that the cry has opened upon the friends of the Colony that they were the enemies of the African. And it is only another signal proof of the ease with which false witnesses may gain a hearing, that so gross and malign a charge has found credit with any. We lament to know that by means of the ———, the man of colour in every town and village of this land, has been cruelly deluded into the suspicion that the Liberian enterprise is a plot for his ruin. We know to our sorrow that the kindest and sincerest advances of the best friends of Africa are often met with distrust, or rejected with anger, by the people of colour. For such a condition of things, we have to thank the reckless and pragmatistical attempts of the Anti-Slavery Society and its abettors. It is, however, our belief that truth will prevail; that the Colony will be prospered of God; and that by the means now in operation, the way will be opened for the eventual abolition of slavery, in consistency with our national union.

## MR. TOLER'S ADDRESS.

*Extracts from an Address delivered before the Lynchburg Auxiliary Colonization Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, held on the 15th of August, 1833.—By RICHARD H. TOLER.*

After some eloquent remarks on the benevolent enterprises which characterise the present age, the Orator thus proceeds:—

It is not my intention, Mr. President,—far be such a purpose from my mind,—to underrate the importance, or to depreciate the value, or to throw a single impediment in the way of other Philanthropic and Religious Institutions. On the contrary, there is not one of them all which has not my most earnest and hearty prayers for the complete consummation of its benevolent purposes. But, I believe, that, excellent as they may be, the Colonization Society is of still superior excellence to any other; because in its designs are embraced and concentrated the most prominent and valuable features of them all.

It is a *Benevolent Society*—snatching from the depths of the most cheerless and hopeless poverty a class of beings, who, deprived of the most influential incentives to industry and economy, are proverbially heedless of the future, living each returning day upon the scanty proceeds of each day's reluctant labor, with such meagre additions as charity or chance or crime may add to their humble store.

It is an *Education Society*—removing the free negro from a land, the policy of whose laws, as well as the peculiar circumstances of their own anomalous condition, closes against them the doors of knowledge, to a country, the policy of whose institutions it must be to plant in their minds the seeds of intelligence, that it may, in after years, reap its rich fruits, in the liberal and expanded views which it generates, in the exalted moral sentiments which it inspires, in the just principles which it fosters, in the lofty conceptions which it enkindles, and, to express all in one word, in the improved condition of society, in all its diversified relations, which it invariably and of necessity produces.

It is a *Bible Society*—supplying a safe depository for that rich mine of literary excellence and unadulterated truth, in the strong hold of Paganism and Superstition—in a quarter of the globe which, in the strongest and most emphatic sense of the word, *demand*s that the Book of Life shall be furnished to its people, by those whose visits to its fated shores have been heretofore accompanied only by the clank of chains and followed by the shriek of agony and despair. And where may we more reasonably hope that this word will be received in honest hearts, and produce its legitimate fruits, than in Africa, when we remember the divine prophecy recorded on its pages, and yet unfulfilled, that “*Æthiopia shall stretch out her arms to God?*” We may, indeed, circulate this book at home, among men already civilized, and professing a theoretical belief of its contents; and it is among our highest privileges and duties thus to circulate it; although it may be tendered to those who will never read one of its pages, or who, perusing it, may turn a deaf ear to its admonitions; or who, even worse than that, like the fatally skilful alchymist, may extract deadly poison from its healing leaves. But we may, also, by means of the Colony established on the shores of Africa, send it into the heart of that vast continent, with an unfaltering belief that it will kindle upon the altars which are already rising to the “*Unknown God,*” in the midst of its senseless superstitions and its debasing idolatries, the purifying, ennobling and undying fires of a genuine faith—a faith congenial with the nature and adapted to the necessities of mankind, and which accommodates itself as readily to the limited capacity of the unlettered savage, as to the deep-searching speculations of the inquiring philosopher.

It is a *Missionary Society*—and the best of all Missionary Societies—for, when the Libe-rian Colony shall have become densely populated, rich in pecuniary resources and mature in intellectual acquirements, it will not only open a pathway into the interior of Africa for Missionaries from distant lands, and of a different color, but it will send forth from its own bosom, men learned in the Scriptures, and burning with Apostolic zeal for the dissemination of their saving truths, among a people of originally the same habits, and bearing about them the inef- facable stamp of a common parentage—men, who will not, like the white man in Burmah, in the South Sea Islands, and among the Aborigines of our own continent, meet with those formidable barriers arising from the prejudices and even hostility engendered by exterior differences—for, Sir, we have not now to learn that communities, whether civilized or savage, hold in contempt and abhorrence, their fellow-beings whom they find “*guilty of a skin not colored like their own.*”

Similar remarks might be made in relation to Tract, Sunday School and Temperance Societies; but it is unnecessary to be more specific on this branch of the subject.—I think it is apparent, therefore, Sir, that the Colonization Society unites and combines the best features of all the other Benevolent Institutions of the day,—Institutions which, both for their number and the magnitude of their operations, distinguish the present beyond all preceding ages.—And, if this be true, it calls loudly for the support of all who feel an interest in the success of the great cause which those institutions have been established to promote.

Mr. President—At a very early period of our Colonial history, our wisest and best men perceived and felt the blighting and demoralizing evil which had been entailed on the fairest portion of the New World, by the mistaken policy of the Colonists. The slave ship, freighted with the heaviest curse in which the love of gold ever tempted man to traffic, soon followed the first settlers of this continent, across the waters; and unhappily for them, and for



us, and for generations yet unborn, instead of being indignantly driven from our coast, she was permitted to furl her sails in our harbors, and to pour her vile cargo on our shores, then for the first time burdened with a human being in bondage. The lure, Sir, was too great to be resisted. It was too tempting to the indolence and pride of the colonists, who saw in it the means of revelling in the luxuries of wealth, coupled with exemption from that manual labor and toil which, without involuntary servitude, would be necessary to obtain them.—From that day to this, the evil has continued to grow and spread, until now its Anaconda folds embrace within their deadly grasp a vast portion of the great American Confederacy. It has not thus continued to gather strength and power, however, without inspiring, even in the minds of those subject to its influence, and enjoying its supposed benefits, a deep conviction of its ruinous tendencies; but that conviction has been also accompanied by a not less sincerely entertained apprehension that it was as ineradicable as it was dangerous.—Yet, Sir, as I before remarked, at a comparatively early period of our history, some of our leading statesmen turned their anxious attention to this subject, (and, as they constituted a majority of the House of Burgesses, it is fair to infer that they were not far ahead of popular sentiment;) but despairing of undoing what had been already done, they contented themselves with arresting the increase of the evil, by interdicting the farther importation of slaves from Africa. Several acts were passed by the Colonial Legislature, in furtherance of this design: but the Royal sanction being necessary to give them the character of laws, and that having been fruitlessly applied for, the accursed traffic continued, until, under a better order of things, the Revolution having released us from foreign control, the slave-trade was forbidden, as far as Virginia was concerned, under the severest penalties. But the principle of slavery had already been incorporated in our legal policy, and had interwoven its fibres in all the social relations. It was not possible—nor, if it had been possible, would it have been either just to the master or humane to the slave,—to have disrupted the settled order of things, and, by a general statute of emancipation, to have revolutionized our social relations, by raising the latter to an equality with the former. Their ignorance and their loose notions of morality would have rendered them unfit associates in the private circles of life, and ungovernable and dangerous as citizens, even had not their difference of color precluded all idea of a gradual removal of the impediments to the amalgamation of the two races,—impediments, springing not so much from their antecedent relations as from that broad and ineffaceable badge of distinction stamped upon them by the hand of Providence. It seemed, therefore, to the wise and good men of that day that slavery having once taken root in our soil, and having grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, in a ratio greatly favorable to the final numerical ascendancy of the blacks, it was fixed here forever, by the unalterable decree of Heaven. Indeed, I believe it was no uncommon sentiment at that day—and I doubt whether the opinion be not general now—that God has cursed the African with an obtuser intellect, and stamped him with a darker hue, and loaded him with servile chains, as the penalty for the transgressions of his reputed progenitor. But, this is one of those popular errors, which have their reign for a brief period, until they are dispelled by a more careful investigation into the truths of history, and a more philosophical application of those truths to current events. For my own part, I believe that the African is endowed with faculties as lofty, with perceptions as quick, with sensibilities as acute, and with natures as susceptible of improvement, as we are, who boast a fairer skin; and that, operated upon by the same ennobling impulses, stimulated by the same generous motives, and favored by the same adventitious circumstances, they would, as a mass, reach as high an elevation in the scale of moral refinement, and attain as great distinction on the broad theatre of intellectual achievement, as ourselves. And I am proud that the free citizens of this Republic are about to test the accuracy of this opinion—to offer to a portion of that “doomed people” a country, which they may call *their own*, and to encourage them to kindle upon their hearth-stones the domestic fires, around which they may daily gather their little households, and teach them the high moral lessons which raise man above the level of the brute, and give him some faint conception of that spark within which links him to the Deity.

But, Mr. President, whatever our ancestors, who affixed to the slave trade the stigma of piracy, and visited it with the penalty of death, may have thought of banishing slavery from our country, or whatever we may think of that gigantic project,—it is certain that long since it was determined to provide for the removal of another class of our population, which, as one of the consequences of slavery, has sprung up among us, a sort of middle, but hardly a connecting link between the master and the slave. I mean, of course, the free people of color—a class having no similitude in the condition of any other nation, except perhaps in the West Indies, and occupying a most anomalous relation here—possessing nominal freedom, but very wisely denied all the glorious attributes, and deprived of all the substantial privileges of freemen—disburthened of the outward symbols of slavery, yet doomed to nearly all of its intrinsic disabilities—called on to be good citizens, without any of the high motives to stimulate them to be virtuous, which are necessary to produce that result—punished severely for offences, against the perpetration of which he is guarded by none of the restraints, which, with other free citizens, we ordinarily find such effectual barriers against indulgence in vice and the perpetration of crime—their ambition repressed by a consciousness that its rewards are studiously guarded against their approach—their aspirations after moral excellence crushed in the bud by the chilling reflection that against them all the avenues to honorable distinction are closed, and barred, by a decree as unchangeable as the fiat of Destiny. What can we expect from such a class, but that they should be, exactly what, as a class,



they are—ignorant, degraded, and mischievous—corrupting the slave and purloining from the master—objects of jealousy and hatred alike to those above and to those below them? These, or we may suppose not entirely dissimilar views, influenced Mr. Monroe, when he called the attention of the Legislature of Virginia to the expediency of acting on this subject, and induced that body to adopt a resolution, asking Mr. Jefferson, then President of the U. States, to procure some suitable spot, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, to which these wretched outcasts might be sent. But the subject was then novel, and it was involved in many difficulties which subsequent investigation and experience have partially removed.—The enlightened Statesmen and Philanthropists, who at that day, suggested this scheme of Colonization, as an offering at once on the altars of Patriotism and Benevolence, held the lever of Archimides in their hands, but, like him, they had no fulcrum on which to rest it.—Thus, therefore, this subject ended at that time with the adoption of a resolution declaratory of its vital importance, and of the deep anxiety which the Legislature, and, by consequence, the people of Virginia, felt for its consummation.

But, Sir, the rock had been smitten—the drops began to glisten on its sun-lit surface—presently, an almost imperceptible stream began to wind its slow and noiseless way among the hills—and gradually the little mountain rivulet swelled into a broad and expansive sheet of water. And, Sir, lifting for a moment the veil which conceals the future from our eager gaze, we may behold a shoreless ocean, burdened with a redeemed nation, who, like the Israelites fleeing from the land of captivity, take down their harps from the willows, on which they had long hung in mournful silence, and, as they approach the regenerated coasts of their father-land, reanimate their mute cords with the glad notes of deliverance and triumph.

Some contrariety of opinion exists, with regard to whom the credit of originating the scheme of African Colonization strictly belongs. In a late apparently authentic essay on the subject, I have seen it stated that the idea was first broached in England, as early as 1787, by Dr. Fothergil and Granville Sharp—names, particularly the latter, celebrated in the annals of “good works;” and that their views were warmly seconded in this country by the late Dr. Thornton, of Washington City; Dr. Hopkins, of New Jersey; and Ferdinando Fairfax, of Virginia. But it was not until 1816, that the scheme assumed, in this country, any thing like a visible and tangible form. In that year, through the instrumentality of Dr. Finley, Mr. Caldwell, Henry Clay, Charles Fenton Mercer, and a few other generous spirits, whose lives and labors have been dedicated to the great cause of humanity, the grain of mustard seed was deposited in the earth, which has since grown into a great tree, the shadow of its expanded branches covering this entire Republic, and spreading rapidly into other lands. In one of his speeches on this subject, Mr. Clay eloquently adverts to the time when himself and about a dozen others, “in a small room, about twelve feet square, in the City of Washington, were consulting together and laying its foundations. Few, then,” (says that accomplished Orator,) “foresaw, that, from so small a beginning, such vast results were to be realized, or such boundless prospects to open; that a mere desultory conversation should result not only in the foundation and establishment of a vast Empire or Republic, but hold out the prospect of regenerating, civilizing, Christianizing and elevating to happiness, from the lowest condition of human wretchedness, a whole continent.” Such, Sir, was the humble origin of the American Colonization Society—and such are the promises which it now holds out of present and future usefulness.

Are these prospects likely to be realized? On the answer to this question depends the claims of this Institution to public confidence and support. Permit me, therefore, to exhibit a view of what it has already done, from which you may the better judge of its capacity to do still more, even to the extent of what it promises.

The first settlers of the Liberian Colony reached that place in 1822, under the superintendence and direction of that noble hearted man, Mr. Ashmun, who very early fell a martyr to his zeal in the great cause in which he felt so deep an interest, and to which he devoted the untiring energies of his mind and body; and in November of that year, the whole effective force of the Colony consisted of but thirty-five men. I shall not trace its history through all its alternations of fortune, and vicissitudes of good and evil. The detail, though not without interest, would occupy too much of your time. Suffice it to say, that, now, after a lapse of only eleven years, we are told by Mr. Williams, the Vice Agent of the Colony, himself a colored man, and among the first emigrants who went from Virginia, and who is now on a visit to this country, that the population is between 3 and 4,000, distributed among seven settlements, containing 1,000 houses, four schools and six churches; that they are on terms of amity and friendship with the surrounding natives, and actively engaged in agricultural, commercial and mechanical pursuits; that they are distinguished for their morality and temperance, not more than one or two drunkards existing among them; and that they exhibit a growing interest in the progress of education, and an ardent attachment to religion. Point me, Sir, if you can, in the whole history of Colonization, to a single instance in which a settlement, separated by an ocean from the colonizing country, has grown up more rapidly, or under more auspicious circumstances; or to one, which, in its infancy, promised richer results to the great cause of civilization and freedom. Look back, for a moment, to the story of the “Pilgrim band,” who landed at the Rock of Plymouth—trace the history of your own ancestors at Jamestown—and contrast the perils which they encountered and the sufferings which they endured, with the safety and plenty and peace which exist at the Liberian Colony—compare the difficulties which every where beset the first white inhabitants of the

\* There are many honorable individual exceptions to this description.

Western world, with the facilities which are now afforded to the African emigrant, both here and in his new abode beyond the waters—and note the length of time, the long years of toil, privation and warfare which preceded the permanent settlement of the English in America, and then look at the brief period which has sufficed to swell the population of the African Colony to thousands, blessed with comfortable homes, and firmly and happily fixed in the land of their ancestors; and it would seem to me that the doubts of the veriest skeptic must yield to the flattering result of the comparison. There is, however, still another point of view in which this contrast should not fail to be presented to your consideration; and it is this:—The first settlers of this continent were met, when they landed, by a race of people, vast in number and warlike in character, and differing from them not more in external appearance than in their habits of thinking and in their modes of life—a race of people whom we have in vain endeavored to reclaim from their savage condition; with whom it has been found impracticable to amalgamate, or even to admit within the social pale; and who never for a moment relaxed, however they may at intervals have disguised their hostility to the whites, until their war clubs were struck from their grasp by a power which they could not withstand. From this source, the early settlers not only experienced much vexation, but were constantly in peril; and indeed they were more than once almost entirely exterminated by their Indian enemies. But the African emigrant returns to the land of his fathers, and finds not only a climate congenial with his nature, but a people, with whom, in the process of time, he of necessity will become completely identified—and from whose hostility, until, in the progress of events, they shall become thus amalgamated, all past experience teaches us he has nothing to dread. This fact alone, it seems to me, presents an argument in favour of the feasibility of this scheme, which it is difficult for those who doubt or deny it to resist or evade.

Having, I think, shown that the plan of African Colonization is not the offspring of visionary enthusiasm, but of sober calculation, confirmed thus far by fair experimental results, I will proceed briefly to consider some of the objections which have been urged against it.

The opponents of this Society may be divided into three classes: 1st, the Abolitionist, who contends that its object is to rivet the chains of slavery, and that such is its direct effect. 2ndly, the Advocate of Slavery in the abstract, who, in the language of a distinguished South Carolinian, looks upon slavery as a blessing rather than an evil, and who affects to regard the Colonization Society as an insidious weapon in the hands of Abolitionists in disguise; and 3rdly, those who, acknowledging the excellence of the plan itself, doubt whether funds enough can be raised to accomplish its designs; or, if the money can be obtained, whether the free persons of color will generally consent to avail themselves of the privilege offered to them.

It is apparent, Mr. President, that *both* of the two first named classes of objectors cannot be right. They are direct antipodes; the arguments of one completely refuting those of the other. If the influence of this Society be, as the Abolitionists contend, adverse to emancipation, it cannot deserve the character ascribed to it by the disciples of Gov. Hamilton, of S. Carolina, who would cherish slavery as a great moral blessing, rather than extirpate it as a national and social curse. And, on the other hand, if it promotes manumission, the objection of the Abolitionist is unsound and untenable. But, Sir, in my opinion, they are both wrong—decidedly and unequivocally wrong. The truth lies here, as in most other cases, in that “golden mean” which heated partizans never find. I believe that the Society has heretofore faithfully adhered to that clause of its original Constitution, which declares that its operations are to be exclusively directed to the colonization, with their own consent, of the free people of color on the coast of Africa; and I have no apprehension that it will ever expunge that clause, or in any manner impair its force or evade its meaning; so that he who loves slavery for the fruits it yields, need not fear that his right of property will ever be invaded by its operations. No, Sir, he may cling to it as long and as tenaciously as he pleases. The Society, neither asks him for his slaves, nor, could it seduce them from his service, would it dare to make the attempt. But, on the other hand, happily for us, and honorable as it is to a patriotism and sense of high moral duty which absorb all selfish considerations, every member of the slave-holding community does not view the subject in this mistaken, and I had almost said odious light. They have not *all* so learned their duty to God, to their country and to their fellow-men. Many of them believe that, in its mildest and happiest form, slavery is a bitter draught to the unfortunate race who are doomed to drink of its cup, and a withering blight to the community which contains within its bosom the corrosive canker,—and they hail with joy the door which this Society opens for their voluntary release from bondage, and gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to knock off the fetters of the captive, and to send him back to his long-lost country. Thus, Mr. President, this Society, by indirectly encouraging the growing spirit of voluntary manumission, repels the slander of the Abolitionist; while, on the other hand, by placing restrictions on its own operations, it vindicates itself from the aspersions of him who clings to slavery because it enables him to indulge his love of indolence, and to live in oriental splendor and luxury on the sweat of other brows than his own. In one word, Sir, this Society attempts to remove none but *those who are free*; it would accept of none others were they to offer themselves. But, presenting means and motives for their removal hence, many slave-owners are induced to avail themselves of those means, and to liberate their slaves. So that it neither, on the one hand, rivets the chains of slavery, nor, on the other, does it operate as an Abolition Society in disguise. \* \* \*

There is, however, a third class of objectors, who, startled at the immensity of the project,



apprehend that funds cannot be obtained sufficient for its accomplishment, or that if they can, emigrants in large numbers cannot be found willing to embrace the invitation of the Society. This objection deserves the most respectful consideration, because, although it is founded in mistake, it doubtless proceeds from honest motives. In relation to the financial part of the objection, I would remark, that heretofore, although the Society has depended almost entirely upon private contributions, it has been enabled, every year, to send from one to four expeditions to Africa. And so complete has been the triumph of the experiment, and so perceptibly beneficial has been its influence, that already has the policy of contributing to its little Treasury become the theme of debate in the Legislatures of many of the States.—The theme of debate, did I say? They have not only debated the proposition, but several of them have made handsome annual appropriations in aid of its funds. Among them, Sir, is our own State, which, less sagacious in this, as well as in some other important matters of State policy, than South Carolina, has not yet discovered that this is an Abolition scheme, wearing the mask of Colonization! At its last session, the Virginia Legislature passed a law appropriating \$18,000 annually to this object; clogged, I am aware, with conditions, which, in a great measure, detract from its value and impair its usefulness; but, nevertheless, showing the existence and manifesting the power of an enlightened public sentiment, which, the more the subject is canvassed, will be the more disposed, not only to augment the amount of this appropriation, but also to disencumber it of those provisions, which, if they do not now render it almost nugatory, will certainly prevent its entire absorption. One of these impolitic provisions, and that of which the friends of Colonization have most reason to complain, is the clause which restricts the benefits of the appropriation to persons of color *already free*, thereby tending to check that generous spirit of voluntary manumission, in which, as I conceive, with becoming deference to the many wise and good men with whose opinions mine conflict, consists the true policy of a slave-holding State, suffering under the evils of the unnatural social system which is its consequence, lamenting its existence, and anxious to find some safe mode of escaping from its baneful effects. Surely, Mr. President, it is not the wild dream of an unnaturally excited enthusiasm, which, with these facts before it, looks forward, with undoubting hope, to the period, as not very remote, when every State of this Union shall cheerfully pour its liberal contributions into this great Reservoir of Patriotism and Philanthropy—whence they may be distributed, with a wise and prudent discrimination, in invigorating and fertilizing streams, not only over this entire Republic, but over the distant continent of Africa—removing from among ourselves one of the most teeming sources of pollution and mischief, while we add, in the same, or even a greater ratio, the elements of strength, civilization, moral regeneration and happiness to the land which has sustained such deep wrong at our hands, and which will receive this generous return as an ample retribution for that wrong. And, Mr. President, I hope I may also be permitted, without the dread of giving offence to the most jealous limitarian, to refer to the great Public Domain, conquered by the arms or purchased by the treasure of the United States, or ceded, after the formation of the Union, by several of the State governments to the federal head, for the common benefit of the whole, as an exhaustless mine of wealth, to which, if necessity should exist, we may with confidence look for ample aid. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the constitutional question. The lateness of the hour, as well as the nature of this address, and the limits to which it must be necessarily restricted, forbid it. Suffice it to say, that in relation to the right of the general government to give this direction to the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands, I cannot doubt, when, in that opinion, I am supported by the authority of some of the most learned and patriotic commentators on the constitution. But, if the power be not already possessed by the general government, it can be readily obtained by an amendment of the constitution—to which very few, if any, of the States will, I imagine, offer the slightest opposition. Thus, whether we refer to the history of the past, or look to future probabilities, I think it will appear, to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, that we have no just ground to entertain an apprehension of a deficiency in the pecuniary resources of the Society.

Nor are we to suppose that the colonization of the free blacks will very long continue to call for such a great expenditure as it has heretofore done, and as it must still do for a few years. For I not only regard it as probable, but certain, that the period will arrive, when the Colony, now stretching along a line of coast 150 or 200 miles in length, and penetrating from 50 to 100 miles into the interior, and which will doubtless extend its geographical boundaries, as future accessions to its numbers may render it necessary, will be densely populated, and possess in abundance all the elements of national wealth and prosperity—that the fruits of a well-defined system of Agriculture will deck its fields with the rare and rich products congenial to the warm sun and teeming soil of Africa—that Manufactures, which, we are assured by travellers who have penetrated into the interior of that country, are already fabricated with no little art, even by the untutored natives, will become a prosperous and lucrative pursuit—that Commercial enterprise will enrich the Colony by an exchange of its numerous and valuable productions for those of foreign countries—and that, to crown this picture of prosperity, the Arts and Sciences which follow in their train, will embellish, adorn and dignify the scene. Think you, Sir, that when this now infant, and in many respects helpless and dependent Colony, shall have reached such a high degree of wealth, respectability and strength, the free negroes in this country will require not only *persuasion*, but *bounties*, to induce them to gather their little all, if any thing they have, and to fly to this Land of Hope—to them emphatically the Land of Promise? No, Sir. They will rush to your seaports in droves, and crowd your wharves, and if they cannot beg or buy a passage to that



land, they will "work before the mast." Thither they will go, with even more eagerness than the hundred thousand oppressed, toil-worn and poverty stricken children of Europe now annually fly to this country, abandoning home and friends and relatives, that they may sit down under their own vine and fig tree, free from the exactions of petty tyranny, and permitted peaceably to enjoy the fruits of their labors, and to assume that equal station among their fellow-men to which they are entitled, but from which they have been so long excluded by the artificial policy of the land of their birth.

Mr. President, if these speculations be well-founded—and if we may be permitted to infer future events from the past, they are so—we have surely no just reason to apprehend the failure of this scheme, either from a deficiency of money or of emigrants. The free people of color cannot long remain insensible to the value of the high boon which the generosity of the present age proffers to them. Prejudice and ignorance may, for a while, induce them "to bear the ills they feel," rather than fly to those imaginary evils which they are taught to dread, as the consequences of expatriation; but that prejudice and ignorance will be eradicated by the accumulating facts which every day reach us, showing the rapid advance of the Liberian Colony in refinement, wealth and power, and the inducements to emigration which it holds out to those who are ambitious of real freedom, and anxious to enjoy its inappreciable immunities. Yes, Sir, the day will assuredly arrive when they will embrace the offer, which too many of them now, with a blind disregard of their most vital interests, contemptuously reject, with as much joy as the captive feels, who, immersed in the gloom of a dungeon until the sense of vision becomes a useless faculty, is restored to freedom, and the light of the noon-day sun again bursts upon his "sightless orbs." Be assured that this vast and momentous project is not of man's devising. It is one of the great engines in the hands of Providence, who sees the end from the beginning, for regenerating the world—and though it may, for wise purposes, be subjected to those alternations of prosperity and adversity, which attend, in a greater or less degree, all enterprises in which human agents are employed, it will eventually be crowned with the most complete and triumphant success. Not more surely does the light of day follow the midnight darkness, than the cheering beams of civilization and freedom and Christianity shall dispel the moral gloom which now spreads its pall over the African continent—that vast "valley and shadow of death."

Many persons, however, who admit that the Liberian Colony must prosper, and that it will exercise a vastly auspicious influence in redeeming that continent, one little spot of which it now decks with its green verdure and its hopeful fruits of promise, from barbarism and idolatry,—yet contend that it cannot have the effect of drawing from this country the free persons of color, in such numbers, as to render it, in a political and social point of view, an object of much importance to ourselves. They think it a hopeless task to attempt the expulsion of an entire class of people, though comparatively weak in number, from the larger and stronger body of the community. But they are mistaken. The difficulties in the way of an amalgamation of distinct *castes* are insurmountable, as all history, confirmed by our own experience, assures us. But, while the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the inextinguishable hostility between the Greeks and Turks, resulting already in the partial freedom of the former, and the gradual retreat of the Aborigines of this continent from the Atlantic towards the Pacific, as the waves of civilization beat upon their receding footsteps, all attest the impossibility of fraternizing and consolidating distinct races of men, they likewise teach us that there is a natural and almost inevitable tendency, first, to their complete detachment from each other; next, to their array in hostile masses; and finally, to the extermination or expulsion of the weaker party. Unless, therefore, it be contended that Benevolence, Patriotism and Justice are too weak to effect the same results which have been achieved by oppression, Fraud and Violence, this objection, like the others which I have considered, must be relinquished.

I might, were it proper to consume more of your time, Mr. President—and I fear that your patience has already been too severely taxed—take several views, and enter into various other arguments, drawn from the fearful statistics of the country, and which naturally suggest themselves in the discussion of this subject. But I will not add argument upon argument to demonstrate the grandeur and practicability of this scheme, or to illustrate its strong claims to the confidence and support of the American community, and more particularly of the Southern portion of the Union. I might as well attempt to repaint the lily, or to add a perfume to the violet, or to gild refined gold, or to tinge the rainbow with a brighter hue. I need but repeat, Sir, that the work *will* go on, in despite of opposition from Fanaticism, Prejudice, Timidity and Obstinacy. It is a cause which has struck its roots deep and wide in the affections and judgments of the people; and, so far from being uprooted by the unnatural alliance of opposing passions by which it is assailed, like the pliant willow, it will bend to the violence of the storm, and, when its fury shall have past over, it will resume its upright position, unscathed by its rage.

The advocates of this great cause, Sir, stand on elevated ground. Their only interest, proximate or remote, in its success, is drawn from the holy fountains of love of country, and love of the human race. They go not forth, as did the wildly enthusiastic Crusaders of the iron age, cased in armor, and wielding the sword and spear, to wrest from the "uncircumcised Infidel" the sepulchre of the Saviour and the tombs of his Prophets, kindling the flame of war and persecution in their path—but they go with the peaceful emblems of Civilization in their hands, and wearing the holy badges of Christianity, to irradiate a continent, around which the "starless night" of ignorance, superstition and barbarism has so long wrapped its murky folds, with the cheerful and invigorating beams of freedom, science and reli-

gion.—And, Sir, although we cannot see through “the gray veil of Fate,” I unhesitatingly and boldly repeat, that we must and will succeed. The attributes and the promises of our Creator are all enlisted in this cause. And he is an unobservant watcher of the portents of the times, and turns a deaf ear to the sounds which ring with earthquake violence throughout the world, who does not see and feel that great Moral Revolutions are on the wing, and are even now at hand—that the Star has already appeared in the East, streaking the horizon with a strange and ominous light, which shall presently grow brighter and brighter, like the gradually expanding cloud which the Prophet beheld, until both Heaven and Earth shall be wrapped in one broad and unbroken sheet of living effulgence; and Man shall every where walk forth, in its noon-tide blaze, a “redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled” being! As humble instruments, in the hands of the Allwise Disposer of Events, it is our high duty and our ennobling privilege to exert all our energies in producing and speeding this glorious consummation.

“If you pant for glory, build your fame

“On *this* foundation, which the secret shock defies

“Of envy and all-sapping time.”

Toil in *this* great cause, and when you are no more among the living, you shall be classed with the

“Founders of arts that dignify mankind,

“And lovers of our race, whose labors give

“Their names a memory that defies the grave!”

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### BRITISH COLONY AT SIERRA LEONE.

Since the publication of the numbers of the Repository containing a Review of Major Ricketts's “*Narrative of the Ashantee War*,” we have not, until now, found room for the subjoined extracts from the “*Brief View of the Present State of the Colony at Sierra Leone*,” which he has appended to that work, and which is a far more meritorious composition than its associate.—They will gratify the natural desire of our readers for information concerning Africa:—

“It was my lot to witness, during the period of my service on the coast, the arrival and premature decease of five successive governors, viz. Sir Charles Mac Carthy, Major-General Turner, General Sir Neil Campbell, Lieutenant-Colonel Denham, and lastly, Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley; whom I had the honour to succeed in the government. Of the unhappy and cruel fate of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, I have already spoken in the preceding narrative.

“Major-General Turner arrived in the colony in February, 1825. His death was caused by his unremitting exertions up the river Sherbro, where he fought several actions with the natives and others engaged in the slave trade; after which he returned to Sierra Leone in a bad state of health, and died in March, 1826.

“General Sir Neil Campbell arrived in the colony in August, 1826, and sailed shortly after for the Gold Coast; from whence he returned and was seized with sickness in November following. Having recovered, he proceeded to the Gambia, and returned in a short time in better health; but soon after fell sick again, and died in August, 1827.

“Colonel Lumley arrived in the colony at the same time with Sir Neil Campbell, and after the death of that officer, assumed the government, and in about six weeks proceeded to the Gold Coast, from whence he returned in April, 1828, when he was superseded by Lieutenant-Colonel Denham, upon whose decease, he again assumed the government, and died in August, 1828.

“I first became acquainted with Colonel Denham at British Accra, in the month of January, 1828, where he had arrived from Sierra Leone. His celebrity as an African traveller had already excited a high degree of interest in his favour, and upon his landing he was received with every mark of respect.

“Shortly after, we visited the Danish castle “Christianburg” together, and were received by the governor with much civility; after which Colonel Denham embarked on board the Sybill, Commodore Collier, and I, on board a transport for Fernandez Po. After remaining there several days, Colonel Denham sailed again with that officer, and returned to Freetown, in the Plumper brig of war, after a long passage, much straightened for provisions and water, where I had preceded him nearly a month. He had at this time been upwards of twelve months the superintendent of the liberated Africans, and, as I had served in the different settlements on the coast for nearly eleven years, and had had much intercourse with the natives, he seemed desirous of obtaining whatever information it was in my power to give, and I feel persuaded that the general coincidence of our opinions was a source of mutual satisfaction.



"His exertions whilst he superintended the liberated Africans in their villages, and also his judicious plans and exertions for the short time he was governor, were highly beneficial and useful, and would no doubt have produced in time the most desirable effects. He had whilst in the discharge of his arduous duty adopted an excellent plan of locating the people along the roads, by giving each individual a certain portion of land adjoining his own house, which plan I also followed, conceiving it to be the most advantageous that could be suggested, and the most probable means by which the colony could be effectually improved. He had heard of his appointment, and his reception at Freetown was highly gratifying to his feelings, being met on landing, by a body of the inhabitants, who escorted him to the government house.

"After he was sworn in, he dispatched me back to the Gold Coast to complete the arrangements that had been previously ordered by government, and very shortly after this he died of the Sierra Leone fever, to the great regret of all classes of those who were able to appreciate his talents and virtues. He survived the first attack only about nine days. By this unfortunate event the government again devolved upon Colonel Lumley, but he also soon afterwards fell a victim to the climate. I then assumed the government, which, in consequence of ill health, I was obliged reluctantly to relinquish and return to England, after having served in various capacities on that coast, during the period already mentioned.

"Sierra Leone is a peninsula, very mountainous, and so named it is presumed by the Portuguese, from the roaring of the thunder through the vallies on the approach and at the termination of the rainy season, resembling that of a lion. It is situated in latitude 8 deg. 30 min. north, and 13 deg. 43 min. west longitude, and was transferred from the African company in 1803, to his majesty's government. The scenery upon drawing near the colony from the sea is picturesque, and in sailing along the land (which is on the right) towards the harbour, the verdure of the woods is delightful, being partly composed of the beautiful palm tree, and here and there on the hills are seen cultivated spots with some good sized houses, and the barracks as the country occasionally opens, until anchored in front of Freetown, which has a picturesque appearance, especially if viewed at a distance from the shore, many of the houses being built on a gentle declivity from Fort Thornton, close to which the old barracks stand: the three new barracks and hospital have a fine effect from the sea: the former, built of bricks, with joists and posts of iron, and slated roofs, are situated on a considerable eminence at a short distance in the rear of Fort Thornton. The two former contain each one hundred and seventy persons, and the other a proportionate number of officers.

"The hospital is a very good one; it is situated half way between the old and new barracks and at the foot of the ascent to the latter." p. 173—182. \* \* \*

"The hermitan is a very dry easterly wind, which, in a few days, dries up all vegetation, except trees; it sets in about December, and continues at intervals for several days together: such is the nature of the hermitan, that the flooring of the houses, window shutters, and other wood work, shrink and separate more than an inch asunder; the glass is broken, and the furniture is warped, but at the approach of the rains, the open seams gradually close again.

"After the absence of rain for many months, the parched surface of the earth, all its vegetation, except trees, having been dried up by the hermitan, and then scorched by the intense heat of a tropical sun, is suddenly covered with verdure. The day after the first shower, the force of vegetation is so great, that the face of nature is completely changed, and it may literally be said that the grass and weeds may be seen to grow; yet, however strange it may appear, although these, as well as the indigo plant, grow spontaneously every where, new land will not satisfactorily produce the usual articles of consumption for three successive years, and some land will not even yield the second year. The dry season is preceded by rainy tornados, which towards the latter end of May are accompanied by rain; they last generally for about an hour, sometimes not so long. They very much resemble the hurricanes in the West Indies, but are not so furious; they vary from south-east to north-east. A dark cloud in the eastern horizon foretels the approach of a tornado; it advances, accompanied by tremendous thunder and vivid flashes of lightning, which at first are distant and faint, until the whole heavens gradually become obscured by one black cloud. It frequently happens that from the quarter opposite to that where the cloud first appears, there previously arises a breeze, which dies away as the tornado gathers; the atmosphere then becomes very sultry, and the tornado advances, with a great rush of wind, bursts, sweeping before it (if no rain has previously fallen) immense clouds of dust. The wet tornados are succeeded by a beautifully serene sky, and the air is greatly refreshed; the frame becomes invigorated, and the mind more cheerful. As the rainy season advances, the tornados gradually cease, and are succeeded by almost constant heavy rains. At the termination of the rains, the tornados again make their appearance, becoming weaker as the dry season approaches, until they cease altogether.

"At intervals during the day in the rainy season, the action of an intensely hot sun on the earth, covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and saturated with moisture, produces a disagreeable sickening smell, which is probably one of the causes of the fever that prevails at this period of the year, as persons recently arrived are generally taken ill in July or August; some, however, have been known to reside in the colony above two years without having been affected by it. If they remain beyond this time, they are certain not to escape much longer, and when at length they take the fever, it generally proves fatal to them. It is considered the more favourable symptom for a stranger to be seized with the fever soon after his arrival. The havoc which this dreadful disease has made among the Europeans who have gone out, or have been sent to the colony is well known. On the first arrival of European troops in 1825, they died in greater numbers than at any subsequent period; the cause was attributed much to



the incomplete state of the barracks, which had been hastily erected, the materials arriving from England at the same time with the troops, the barracks could not consequently be covered in before the rains. From the want of accommodation on shore, most of the troops were kept on board the transports for some months. After the completion of the barracks, and the walls had become dry, the troops enjoyed better health, but they drank freely, and it was very difficult to keep them sober. This no doubt tended much to bring on sickness among them; the officers died, however, in proportion." p. 183—186. \* \* \*

"The population of the colony is about twenty-six thousand. Freetown is inhabited by European merchants, who have built houses for their stores and residences, Maroons, Nova Scotians, blacks, (called settlers,) discharged soldiers from the West India regiments, exiles from Barbadoes, and liberated Africans, who have obtained lots of land in the town. It is well and regularly laid out, and the streets, most of which lately have been properly constructed, are sixty feet wide. Notwithstanding the money which has been expended on public buildings, there are none in the town with the exception of the jail, the barracks, the commissariat, and the buildings of the liberated Africans, that are worthy of the name.—The houses, from the destructive nature of the climate, require annual repair; even iron, unless well painted, will not withstand its effects long. The buildings are erected with a red clay stone, which is found in quarries in the neighbourhood." p. 188—189. \* \*

"Next to the Europeans, the Maroons are the most respectable class in the colony. Some of these people, as well as the Nova Scotians, have acted as commissioners of requests, and have filled the office of mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. During the government of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, they took great pride in these appointments, but latterly they reluctantly accept of any honorary office. A few of them, as well as some of the other people of colour, keep small retail shops of goods and ardent spirits, purchased on credit from the European merchants at auctions, where they pay cash; and some of the Maroons have shops on nearly as large a scale as the Europeans, and import their own goods from England, whence vessels are often sent out to them for a cargo of timber.

"They possess a considerable proportion of the houses in Freetown, which are principally built of stone, wood, and shingles, and consist generally of a hall, two bed rooms, and a piazza supported by stone pillars, the hall and bed rooms are raised about five feet from the ground on stonework, of which the walls also of the houses are built. The under part of the house is used as a store room or cellar. There are other houses of wood built on stone foundations. The merchants' houses are built upon a much larger scale.

"In consequence of very high rents being given for lodgings for the officers and other persons in the public service, whilst the public buildings were in the course of construction, the Maroon mechanics, who reaped large profits, were induced to build some better houses than have been mentioned; many of which however have never been finished, owing to the failure of means, and the impossibility of letting them, the public expenditure not long after the commencement of the speculation having been greatly curtailed and the public servants accommodated in government buildings. Houses of a good description are consequently now seen in various parts of the town uninhabited, or unfinished, and falling to decay. The settlers inhabit the eastern part of the town, designated Settlers Town. These people are inferior to the Maroons in respectability, but have been longer in the colony. Their houses in general are not so good, they are not so industrious, are addicted to drinking, and most of them are of indifferent principles; they have decreased, while the Maroons have increased in number latterly. There has always existed a hostile feeling and jealousy between these people and the Maroons, but which is now slowly subsiding; there are, however, a few exceptions among them, who are deserving to be classed among the most respectable coloured inhabitants of the colony.

"Divine service was formerly performed over the jail, and was well attended by the blacks, but lately in the unfinished new church in the centre of the town, where but few of either Europeans or blacks attend. The latter have erected several places of worship of their own.

"The Maroons deserve credit for the neat little chapel they have erected by subscription among themselves. They had formerly a Methodist preacher, whom they procured from England, but like most other Europeans he did not survive long. There is also a respectable Wesleyan chapel in Settlers Town, which is well attended, and many other private places of worship for dissenters are in different parts of the town, which are supported by contributions from congregations consisting principally of liberated Africans and discharged soldiers; very few of these can even read, and many of the former hardly understand English; and perhaps the preacher, who may be a discharged soldier, or a liberated African, himself scarcely knows his letters, yet they join heartily in singing psalms, which constitutes the principal part of the service. These latter places are opened at day light for about an hour, and in the evening from six till eight o'clock: the chanting may be heard at a considerable distance, and their discordant voices are not a little annoying to the Europeans, who happen to reside in the immediate neighbourhood. On the Lord's day the shops are closed and the Sabbath is otherwise religiously observed by the coloured population.

"Many persons belonging to the surrounding tribes have taken up their temporary residence in the colony, and the Mahometan religion, which many of them profess, allowing a man to have several wives, is in that respect making much progress. With the exception of the most respectable of the Maroons and Nova Scotians, the native inhabitants have not advanced much in European civilization, not being so refined in this respect as the domestic slaves in the West Indies; but they are fond of dress, and newly liberated Africans soon

follow their example to the extent of their means. The Maroons still retain a dialect peculiar to them in Jamaica. Some of the Maroon lads, by being employed in the Europeans' shops, improve themselves much, particularly in their writing. They occasionally give parties, at which there are young ladies who figure away in a country dance, copied from the Europeans, some of whom give a ball and supper, but to which none of the males of colour are invited except one individual, a merchant, who is often a guest at the dinner table of the Europeans. In Sir Charles MacCarthy's time the coloured people who by their good conduct became deserving of his notice, were received at his table, and marriage among them was much encouraged." p. 191—195. \* \* \*

"It is astonishing to see some of the market people, who for the want of room, or in preference, sit outside of the building the whole of the day without any covering on their heads, or perhaps without any clothing at all, except a piece of cloth tied round their bodies, exposed to a vertical sun, which almost strikes a European to the ground, and would blister his skin if exposed to it only for a short time. The exports from the colony are timber, rice, occasionally to the West Indies, palm oil, some camwood, a small quantity of bees-wax, and now and then some gold.

"The timber is generally teak, which is obtained at a considerable distance up the branches of the Sierra Leone river, which are called Bunce, Rokel, Port Logo, and Mahara rivers; these are intersected by numerous creeks, on the banks of which the timber is felled and squared by the natives themselves, and with cork wood floated by them to the factories established by the European merchants on these streams, where it is purchased with goods and shipped for England." p. 206—207. \* \*

"The roads are repaired once a year, shortly after the rains, by the liberated Africans in the villages. Unless some method should be devised to give employment to the greatly increasing population caused by the emancipation of slaves, who are almost daily arriving, now that the public expenditure has declined comparatively to nothing, it is probable the liberated Africans will relapse from their present state of civilization into their former habits and customs. There was evidently such a tendency when I quitted the colony." p. 209. \* \*

"A great number of men and women from the neighbouring countries take up their residence in the suburbs of the town, the greater part of them without permission from the proper authorities. Some of these are criminals, who have fled from the justice of their own country, and who furnish a bad example to the liberated people by the evil practices which they introduce with them. Some of them, after a short residence in the colonies, instigated a war in the neighbourhood, and nearly involved the colony in it. The merchants were much interrupted by it in their timber and other trade. These persons dance and sing in their country fashion. The Maroons born in the colony dance to the gumbia, (drum,) to which they sing and keep time by clapping their hands together. This custom was introduced by the original Maroons from Jamaica. Those who are still in existence speak of their former residence with fond remembrances and sigh to return to it. There are a number of Kroomen generally at Sierra Leone. They come from about Cape Palmas to seek employment in the colony and on board the ships of war and merchant vessels. They are industrious, and being active and strong, are always employed in preference to the other natives. They inhabit a small nest of huts near Freetown.

"As soon as a Krooman has laid by as much money as he thinks will enable him to appear in his own country as a person of consequence, he purchases goods, which he takes with him home, and after his wealth has been exhausted, he returns to seek for more. Numbers of them enter the Navy for a period of three years. Each vessel is allowed to take a number proportioned to her rating, and they receive about the same pay as the white seamen, and also share in prize money. They have been of infinite use in preserving the lives of our sailors by going generally in the boats in their stead." p. 210—212. \* \*

"At present, except those who are tied to the villages by possessing good houses in them, the liberated Africans move from place to place as their fancy leads them, and as no regular allotment until lately had been given to them, they sit down as they call it wherever they like. Ideas of perfect liberty have too soon been given to these people considering their utter ignorance. If one of them were now asked why he does not repair his house, clean his farm, mend his fence, or put on better clothes, he replies, "that king no give him work this time, and that he can do no more than burn bush and plant little cassada for yam" (to eat.)

"The trade in slaves is carried to a greater extent than formerly, in the neighbouring rivers; the vessels that frequent them carry for this purpose Spanish dollars and doubloons, which subsequently find their way to Sierra Leone for goods. Many of the liberated Africans have been enticed from the colony, and others kidnapped by the vagabonds already mentioned who reside in the suburbs of Freetown: they are resold as slaves; some of them after a few months have been recaptured in slave vessels, and brought back to the colony to be liberated. The numerous creeks in the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone, which communicate with the rivers, afford great facility for carrying them off." p. 214—215.

"The winds on the coast are about south-west. Numerous deaths occur among the slaves on their passage, from its tedious length; and sometimes they are much straitened for provisions and water. The slave vessels have been known to be from two months to eleven weeks on their passage up the coast. The male slaves are generally secured by the slave traders with irons between decks, but the women are seldom confined, and are kept in a separate part of the ship, and small parties are allowed to come upon deck in rotation.

"The Portuguese and Spaniards impress on the minds of the slaves that the English are



anxious to destroy them; in consequence of which the poor creatures are just after capture much dejected; but as they are generally immediately released from their confinement and every possible attention paid to them, they soon become cheerful, and although totally unacquainted with one another's language, shortly become familiarised by signs or motions, and when anchored in Freetown harbour, awaiting their adjudication, their countrymen located in the colony visit them, and from being acquainted with their approaching delivery, they indulge in merriment and pleasure. Should there be any disease among the slaves on board the ships, they are landed as soon as the necessary legal forms are gone through. Many of these poor creatures arrive in such a deplorable state from want and disease, that it is difficult to preserve their lives.

"It is really shocking to humanity to see a cargo of children arrive sometimes mere skeletons, in a complete state of exhaustion. The small pox and measles often break out on board the slave vessels, as well as the ophthalmia. Slaves are purchased from the natives on an average for about four pounds each, and are paid for in gunpowder, arms, tobacco, ardent spirits, &c." p. 217—218.

## STATE OF THE COLONY.

In some former articles in the present volume of the Repository, we called the attention of our readers to some fallacious statements which had been put forth, in relation to the moral condition of the Colony at Liberia. As a sequel to the exposures of those statements, we now copy from the New York Spectator of the 21st ult. an official publication made under the authority of one of the most important Auxiliary Societies in the Union.

✂ The explanatory notes are from the Editor of the Spectator:—

"COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—At a meeting of the Board of Managers held September 13th, 1833—On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to propound questions on the state of Liberia to Mr. Williams, Vice-Governor, and Mr. Roberts, High-Sheriff of the Colony, for the purpose of obtaining information.

Messrs. G. P. Disosway, Thomas Bell, and H. V. Garretson, were appointed to constitute that Committee.

Extracted from the minutes.

IRA B. UNDERHILL,  
*Recording Secretary.*"

Pursuant to the foregoing authority, the undersigned met in the City of New York on the 17th of September, 1833, and on request, Messrs. Williams and Roberts were in attendance, with a view to the object expressed in the above resolution.

The Committee now present to the public the following as the result of the examination: Mr. Williams stated that he had resided at Liberia, with the exception of one visit to America before the present, ever since the year 1823; and Mr. Roberts, that he had been there ever since 1828, until his recent departure for this country. They were both natives of Petersburg, in Virginia.

The first question propounded was in relation to the sale and consumption of ardent spirits in the Colony, and it was inquired whether the report is true that 1400 barrels of ardent spirits had been annually sold there, or in any one year?\*

*Answer.*—It is not true—there has never been any thing like that quantity sold there in any one year since it was settled. There are not more than three stores in the Colony that retail, and they cannot sell by less quantity than a gallon, on penalty of \$30 for the first offence, and double that sum for every subsequent offence.

*Question.*—Are there any grogshops in Liberia?

*Answer.*—There is not one in the Colony.

*Question.*—How many confirmed drunkards does it contain?

*Answer.*—I know of only two in the Colony, in a population of between three and four thousand. It is rare to see any man there the worse for liquor; and there are comparatively little ardent spirits drank in the Colony. It is rather a place of deposit, where it is held, until it is disposed of in trade to the natives and others. A license to sell ardent spirits, at a less quantity than a gallon is \$300, which amounts to a prohibition, for the sales would not warrant the expense.

\* This inquiry was made in consequence of a falsehood originally put forth by Garrison, that one thousand four hundred barrels of rum were annually sold in the Colony. This calumny has also been circulated under the sanction of a leading abolitionist in this City—been transmitted to England and returned to this country under the auspices of a violent English abolitionist by the name of Stuart. It is now fully disproved.

*Question 1.*—Is it a fact that Mr. Waring, a Missionary, deals in ardent spirits?\*

*Answer.*—Mr. Waring is not a Missionary. He is a large commission merchant, and probably receives consignments of that article. He is also a lay preacher and a useful magistrate and valuable citizen.

*Question.*—What is the general state of morals in the Colony?

*Answer.*—It is good. There has not been a capital offence committed there from the first. There is very little profanity, gambling, or other vices. The Sabbath is much more respected there, than here.

*Question (to Mr. Roberts.)*—What are the official duties that devolve upon you as High Sheriff of the Colony?

*Answer.*—Principally to arrest for debt, and petty thefts, and keep order in the Courts.

*Question.*—Do you find difficulty in the discharge of those duties?

*Answer.*—None. There has been no riot in the Colony for this three years, nor any resistance to lawful arrest. I might say, not a cross word. There is a night-watch established for greater security.

*Question (to Mr. Williams.)*—Have you a trade?

*Answer.*—I am a shoemaker.

*Question.*—Have you been successful at Liberia?

*Answer.*—I have made more there in three years, than I should probably have made here in all my life.

*Question.*—What are the facilities afforded to emigrants?

*Answer.*—If the emigrant settles in Monrovia, he has a building lot assigned him, and also a five acre pasture lot in the outskirts. If he settles in the country, he has fifty acres of land, and is entitled to a deed of it, as soon as he shall have built a permanent house upon it, and got two acres under cultivation. Lands may be purchased at the distance of three miles from Monrovia, at fifty cents per acre; and within that distance they are generally worth a dollar per acre.

*Question.*—Do the inhabitants turn their attention to agriculture?

*Answer.*—Less than could be wished. They are more fond of trading; but when they do farm it they are successful. I know of one farm from which between forty and fifty dollars worth of produce was sold, besides supporting the family, and another which sold between two hundred and three hundred dollars surplus.

*Question.*—What is the character of the Grand Bassa?

*Answer.*—It is an agricultural settlement.

*Question.*—What are their productions?

*Answer.*—They raise rice, corn, yams, plantains, cassada, bananas, squashes, melons, cucumbers and potatoes—both Irish and sweet—the latter of which grow particularly well.

*Question.*—Do you mean that they raise Indian corn there?

*Answer.*—Certainly—I have seen it and eat it.

*Question.*—What are some of their fruits?

*Answer.*—Oranges, and most, if not all, the usual tropical fruits.

*Question.*—What kind of domestic animals do you have in the Colony?

*Answer.*—Cattle and cows are plenty. Hogs and poultry also do well, and are abundant, and also sheep.

*Question.*—Is the Colony healthy?

*Answer.*—It is—after the emigrants are acclimated they are not sickly. We have no fever and ague. The face of the country is generally level, but there are a few swamps or ponds, and the exhalations are far less than in the lower part of Virginia, where we were raised. In the interior there are no fogs. When the colony is more extensively cleared and opened, we expect it will be still more healthy. The oldest child of the colonists born there is six or seven years old, and the children are very hearty.

*Question.*—Is the water good?

*Answer.*—It is—very pure and pleasant.

*Question.*—How soon may an emigrant maintain himself after his arrival at Liberia?

*Answer.*—Almost immediately, if he is a mechanic—if a farmer, six months are allowed. The Physicians advise them not to go out much sooner after their arrival. It takes about eight months for the crops to come round. We have no taxes to pay, and our circulating medium is gold, silver, and palm oil.

*Question.*—Is there any danger of starving there?†

*Answer.*—None whatever.

*Question.*—How many of your people have become wealthy?

*Answer.*—Probably a dozen are worth from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars each.

*Question.*—What are your relations with the natives?

*Answer.*—We are under no apprehensions of difficulty with the natives. They are amicable, and bring their children among us. There have been about fifty marriages between the emigrants and recaptured Africans and the natives. The latter are much better looking than the blacks in this country—and no repugnance whatever is felt to forming intermarriages. Marriages are all recorded, and the natives fall particularly easy into the white man's

\* This question was put to refute an anti-slavery falsehood, that Mr. Waring was a Missionary and a dealer in ardent spirits. This imputation is also refuted.

† This question also, was put to refute the assertion often made by the opposers of African colonization, that the emigrants were liable to starvation in Liberia.



fashions, as they call them. The fame of the Colony has spread far into the interior, and they come fourteen days' journey to visit and trade with us.

*Question.*—Is there any discontent at the Colony?

*Answer.*—They are generally satisfied. The colonists wish to remain under the management of the Society. . . I know of three only who came back—one in the Hilarity, one in the Jupiter, and one in the Roanoke.

*Question.*—Is it true that any of the colonists have been engaged in the slave trade?\*

*Answer.*—Never. The law imposes a fine of a thousand dollars for the first offence, besides twelve months' imprisonment; and for the second offence *death*. A violation of that law would be rigidly enforced.

G. P. DISOSWAY,  
THOMAS BELL, } Committee.  
H. V. GARRETSON, }

### MR. BACON'S LETTER.

The following letter is from one of the earliest and ablest friends of our Institution, and it will doubtless receive the consideration which it so well merits:

TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY—My dear Sir:—I have often thought that a full interchange of views among the friends of the American Colonization Society, in different parts of the country, and especially among those who have been led by circumstances to bestow particular attention on the subject, might lead to some happy results. Sometimes I have hoped to see a convention of the friends of African Colonization, assembled from all quarters, to compare opinions, and, by the right to be evolved in the course of free and friendly discussion, to establish the principles, and to mark out the plan of more extended and efficient action.—At other times, such a convention seems inexpedient, not to say impracticable. There is, however, a mode in which the friends of this cause can communicate with each other, easily and effectually. Through the press,—through just such a medium as your magazine, which circulates extensively in every district of the United States,—the friends of the Society may hold free and amicable conference respecting any topic important to the common cause.—Will you permit me to attempt the experiment of opening such a conference? With your leave, I propose in the present communication, and perhaps in one or two that may follow, to throw out for the candid consideration of the members and friends of the American Colonization Society, a few suggestions respecting the policy to be pursued by the Society at the present crisis. And if any thing suggested by me shall seem to any friend of the Society to demand an answer, or to be worthy of further consideration, let me here express the feeling that, as the proper signature of the author is affixed to these communications, so it is desirable that whatever may be said by others to carry on the discussion, should be said under a similar responsibility.

The first topic on which I propose to offer a few thoughts, is that which has been the theme of much invective against the Society, by persons of a particular temperament, whose invectives, strangely identical in style and spirit, have been of the most opposite tenor, according as the authors have happened to reside North or South of the Potomac. It is hardly necessary to say, that I mean slavery. The question is a serious one—what policy ought to be pursued by our Society, at the present crisis, in respect to this now most agitated, and always most irritating subject?

There are persons, not unfriendly to colonization, who would gladly see the Society taking much stronger ground than it has ever yet taken, in opposition to slavery. I do not mean those who would have all its reports and agents ever preaching that the immediate, total, unqualified abolition of slavery is the first and greatest of all possible duties, and who would never be satisfied that the Society is not a device of Satan, as long as a single master of a bond-servant should speak of it with favour. The vagaries of such minds are not worthy even to be considered, in reference to the present inquiry. I mean persons of another stamp. I mean those who, while they feel that the establishment of our colonies is accomplishing vast benefit for this country, for Africa, for the entire African race, are yet impatient that the Society does not change its original plan, and adopt for its object the abolition of slavery in the United States, as well as the undoubtedly kindred object of colonizing the free people of colour. Probably it would meet the views of these friends, if the Parent Society were to take a position similar to that recently assumed by the enterprising State Society of Maryland.

\* The Anti-Slavery Address, lately published, puts forth the charge, that "the Colonization Society facilitates the slave trade," and similar representations, equally unfounded and malicious, have been, from time to time, made by leading members of the abolition party. It has even been asserted that some of the colonists have been engaged in the abominable traffic.—These imputations are likewise put down by clear and undeniable proof.

The time has been when I had some indefinite views of the same kind. Then, had I spoken my impressions, I should probably have reasoned thus:—"The friends of the Society, its efficient and available friends, are all enemies to slavery; and those who oppose it at the South, oppose it on the ground of its necessary tendency to the extinction of slavery; therefore, it can lose nothing, and may gain much, by adopting and announcing the extinction of slavery as its aim. It may call out and organize the spirit of opposition to slavery, and may make that spirit pour abundant contributions into the treasury of colonization. It may lead in the discussion of slavery, exposing its impolicy, its dangers, its natural oppugnation to the spirit of Christianity, its demoralizing influences, its innumerable and irresistible tendencies to evil."

Now, however, I take a somewhat different view of the subject—not that I look on slavery with a more friendly regard. My opinions of that relic of barbarism have never been changed, save as they have grown more clear and vivid. Not that I consider it either illegal or dangerous for freemen in a free country to discuss the abolition of slavery, or to use peaceful measures for the enlightening of the public mind respecting that momentous public interest. Indeed, if it were desired at the present time to prevent or suppress the discussion of slavery, such a desire must be hopeless. Since the proceedings in Virginia, two years ago, nothing less can be expected than that those who wish to see slavery safely and equitably abolished, will speak out; and those who are in love with slavery, and desire its perpetuity, must either produce their reasons, or content themselves with being deemed altogether unreasonable. Nor would I intimate a word of dissatisfaction in respect to the position taken by the Maryland Society. That enterprise has my most cordial approbation, and shall have all the support I can give it. I presume that the abolition of slavery in that one State, merely by the removal of the slaves, is not only practicable, but sufficiently within the range of a single and unexceptionable description of measures, to be safely adopted as the direct and leading purpose of that Society.

The view to which maturer reflection has led me, in respect to the policy of the American Colonization Society in this particular, may be briefly stated thus. Our Society has its own distinct yet ample sphere of action, its one definite object on which to act; and that object is not the emancipation of the enslaved blacks, but the colonization of the free. To this one object no other can be added, without seriously infringing on that simplicity of plan to which the Society has heretofore owed so much of its prosperity, and which is obviously essential to its greatest efficiency. I believe that nothing is plainer in itself, or more abundantly proved by the history of voluntary associations, than that *one* great Society can do but *one thing* well. On this principle, the Christian public has found it expedient to have one organization exclusively for the publication and distribution of Bibles, another for religious tracts, another for the encouragement and aid of Sabbath schools, and, in each distinct denomination, another still for Missions. And there is no doubt that, under this system, a far greater amount of moral energy is developed, and a far greater amount of pecuniary aid is drawn forth, in aid of each of these objects, than would be practicable, if all these different organizations were merged in one. As it is, each distinct object stands by itself, with its distinct claims on public patronage; and every individual in the community can regulate his contributions to each specific object by his own feelings or judgment. So far is this principle of the division of labour carried out, that foreign missions, and missions within the bounds of our own country, are held to be objects, allied indeed, yet distinct; and so far distinct, in their nature, and in the character of their claims on public attention, as to require each a separate organization. When it appears that men are wanted, to be employed in evangelical labours, neither the Foreign Missionary Society, nor that which has Home Missions for its sphere, attempts to educate its own missionaries; the Education Society is called into being to supply this particular deficiency. In one point of view, all these efforts of Christian zeal aim at a common object; but in another point of view, the object of each is distinct. And certainly, there are innumerable advantages in that arrangement which assigns to each institution its own single, peculiar work. All those who have any practical acquaintance with such matters, know that there is not one of these institutions, which would not find itself miserably embarrassed in a moment, if it were to attempt any part of the appropriate work of any other. In the same way, I apprehend, our Society would find itself embarrassed, if, departing in the least from its proper sphere, it should attempt to exert any influence in regard to slavery, other than that influence which will infallibly result from the steady prosecution of the Colonization enterprise.

There is an additional consideration which, in my judgment, much strengthens this conclusion. Ours is not a Society for the propagation of opinions and principles, but for direct action on a given object. The only opinion to which it is, or can be committed—the only doctrine which it professes, is that of the utility and importance of colonizing the free people of colour. This is a point on which all intelligent and philanthropic men *can* agree; and in behalf of this object, all whose co-operation is desirable, can co-operate. In behalf of this object, men can co-operate, whose views on subjects immediately connected with this, are most diverse. I know some friends of our Society, who believe that the entire coloured population of our country will yet be restored to Africa. Others I have heard speak, who do not believe that the utmost prosperity of the colonization scheme can ever materially diminish the number of our coloured inhabitants. And between these two extremes, I doubt not, every conceivable variety of opinion might be found among the hearty supporters of the cause. But for none of these opinions is the *Society* responsible. On this point, the Society,



with its present constitution, is incapable of having an opinion. So in regard to the bearings of the enterprise on slavery—some of our friends have one view, full of confidence and hope; others, equally the enemies of slavery, have another view, less encouraging; every man is responsible for his own opinions—the *Society* for none. In regard to measures to be adopted for promoting the safe and equitable abolition of slavery, the difference of opinion among the active supporters of our cause, would doubtless prove greater and more serious than on any other subject. Not a few are for leaving the whole matter to the operation of existing influences, without any interference, at least for the present. Of the thousands who are for doing something, how few can agree *what* should be done. Let those who can agree what should be done, do it if they can, either singly, or by combining their strength in associations; only let them act with the discretion which the nature of the case demands. But let them not insist that the Colonization Society shall depart from its legitimate functions, to be the organ of their movements on the public mind. By yielding to the views of any such class of its friends, and changing its character, and “organic law” to meet their wishes, it would immediately divert public attention from its original object to its new speculations; it would strike off from the list of its contributors all those who, however benevolent in their feelings, have not yet been brought to entertain one particular view on a question which, simple as it may seem to some minds, is in fact one of the most complicated on which human legislation was ever called to act. Thus curtailed in its resources, and afloat on a boundless sea of stormy discussion, it would in all probability soon make shipwreck of that great undertaking, on which the attention of benevolent hearts and philosophic minds, in every country, is fixed with feelings of the liveliest interest.

I hope, therefore, that no effort will be made to bring the Society to any new position, as it respects slavery. The *members* of the Society are of course at liberty, and have always felt themselves at liberty, not only to adopt and express any opinions on slavery which to them seem reasonable, but to employ whatever measures are lawful and expedient for accelerating the abolition of slavery. Of that liberty, I, as an individual, shall continue to avail myself. All that is in my power I shall do, to promote, not the mad and maddening invectives which from certain quarters are launched so indiscriminately against all who sustain the relation of masters—but sober discussion respecting the existing state of things, and calm and candid inquiry respecting the means and process of reforming the fundamental evil in the social structure of the Southern States. But I ask not the Colonization Society to become responsible for my opinions; nor can I believe that it ought to be responsible for any opinions whatever in relation to such a subject.

I say, “any opinions whatever;” for, while I have had in view more particularly, in the course of these remarks, that class of our friends who wish to see a little more *anti-slavery* written on the front of our proceedings, I have also had in view those who may perhaps be desirous of leading the Society to condemn, by a solemn resolution, the principles of certain abolitionists. The recent attacks of some Southern politicians may influence some of our friends in that quarter to imagine that a disclaimer, and something more than an abstract disclaimer of all abolitionism, is demanded of the Society at this juncture. Let me, then, in closing this communication, already, I fear, too protracted, record my serious conviction, that the dignity and usefulness of the Society require it to stand entirely aloof from *all* opinions about the mode of extinguishing slavery. Members and contributors may pursue what course they please; the Society takes no cognizance of their principles, their motives, or their actions. Officers and agents may reason and plead as they think best; the Society may accept their services, without becoming responsible for their reasonings or their rhetoric. If calumnies are uttered against our cause, whether North or South of the Potomac, the Society's friends and agents can give all needed refutation; the Society itself attends not to the refutation of calumnies, but to the conduct of its own enterprise. The same argument which convinces me of the Society's interest and obligation to commit itself *for* no scheme of abolition, convinces me also of its interest and obligation to commit itself *against* none. It would be as right on the part of the Society, and as wise, and as magnanimous, to yield to the swaggering of the Liberator, as it would be to be awed into a protest by the fanaticism of the Columbia Telescope. Respectfully yours,

LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., 25th OCTOBER, 1833.

*From the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat.*

## COLONIZATION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

No. VI.

*Examination of the Objection of the Abolitionists, continued.*

To us it appears that there are two grounds upon which the abolitionist has fallen into error—1. As to the easiness with which his plan could be effectuated in the *South*—2. In estimating the importance of certain rights, called, indiscriminately, *abstract, natural, inalienable*, independently of circumstances inseparably connected with the general welfare, excusing, if not justifying the conduct of those whose interposition delays or obviates their en-

joyment. As to the *first* alleged ground of error, we think the reason why it is embraced is not of very difficult development; and this, without imputing to those who act under its influence, any mischievous intent to embarrass us or disturb our peace. In New England there is, according to the federal census of 1830, a *free white* population of 1,946,603; of the free coloured, 21,310. There are, then, in this section of the United States, more than 90 free *whites* to 1 free coloured person. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, united, the proportion is 45 to 1. It may be readily supposed that the inconvenience arising from the presence of a *class* (for as such we speak of them, admitting with pleasure that there are many prominent and meritorious exceptions) of degraded people, where the proportion is so small as that of 1 to 90 or of 1 to 45, dispersed, too, over its whole extent, may be but slightly felt by the free whites generally; if at all, by such of them as have, from peculiar circumstances, become deeply interested in relieving them from those disabilities which the laws of the country and the structure of society have, in their opinion, injuriously imposed upon them. But *suddenly* transfer to New England *one hundred*, and to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania half that number of free coloured people for each *one* which they now respectively entertain of that class, within their limits, and there will be exhibited the proportions as they would exist in many parts of the South, were our slaves emancipated. And in the confusion which would be introduced by these new-born freemen, untaught in the merest elements of learning—untutored in morals—exulting in licentiousness, rather than enjoying a sober and well-regulated liberty, an imagination not very teeming may form for itself some reasonably fair representation of the ills which we of the South would be heir to, should abolition be adopted as the method of relief. But enough of this: if the abolitionist be really desirous of benefitting his fellow-men, and of advancing the cause of human happiness—and other motives we should very reluctantly ascribe to him—we would invite him to visit those parts of the *South* where there is already a large proportion of the free coloured class. If he be diligent, judicious and dispassionate, we risk nothing in saying, he will be convinced of the superior wisdom of trying every other plan, bearing upon its face the least appearance of feasibility, before experiment be made of his favourite *abolition*.

Secondly—the abolitionist errs because, in estimating the value of *abstract right*, he gives no weight to the circumstances and relations in which the subject of it may fortuitously be placed, and which may, as we apprehend, not improperly stand in the way of its enjoyment. Although it may subject us to a charge bordering on a “begging of the question,” yet we must here say, that to pronounce the enjoyment, by individuals, of any *abstract right*, as paramount to all circumstances and controlling relations, involving the general welfare of those interested, seems to us the very summit of inconsiderate and unphilosophic zeal. We are here reminded, by its applicableness, of an apologue used by a friend of the *American cause* in Parliament (Mr. Burke, if our memory serves us) to expose the infatuation of the British ministry, in their high-handed pretensions to tax the colonies. He represented a very inflamed tyro in the school of *abstract rights*, as declaring with delight his intention of shearing a wolf then in his possession. His more sober friends interposed their advice—expostulated with him—presenting the difficulty of the job—the scuffling, scratching, biting that must inevitably ensue; and the danger even of life to which a luckless *snap* might expose him; and, above all, the utter worthlessness of the *fleece* should he even succeed in the operation. But no: argument and reason were in vain—he had the *right*, for God said he had given to man “dominion over every living thing that moved upon the earth”—the wolf was a “living thing that moved upon the earth;” this no person could dispute—therefore it fell clearly within the terms of the grant. His *right* no man could call in question, as it was derived from the only proper source of all right—it was his pleasure to exercise that right, thus solemnly conferred upon him as “man,” and *shear the wolf he would*. As to the difficulties which he might have to encounter, they but served to animate him—the danger arising from the *wolfish* nature of the *varmint* would crown success with the greater share of honour; and as for the worthlessness of the *wool*, it would convince the world that he contended for *principle alone*. Not unlike this is the reasoning of the abolitionist. As *men*, says he, those who are in servitude have a *right* to their liberty, no matter what may be the confusion of social order—the wreck of public and private happiness unavoidably connected with their enlargement amongst us; yet, come what will, the right must be maintained—the *wolf must be sheared*.

Again, we are told, that the declaration of independence, our most solemn state paper, proclaims that “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are rights that are inalienable.”—True; and with the venerable Madison, I could wish, with my whole heart, “that our country was now in the full enjoyment of liberty, and that the world had the full benefit of its example.” But is it to be supposed that these *elemental truths*, which had always been such, and will ever, we trust, be received without controversy, by Americans—were intended to operate to the immediate breaking up of a domestic relation, existing at the time of their promulgation, to a considerable extent in the United States; and not rather as an assertion of our equality, as individuals composing a community, with those constituting another community, which was attempting to impress upon us the stamp of inferiority? Will not the history of the times sustain as more probable, the opinion that these *truths*, as expressed in the declaration of independence, were intended to apply in their full force to the condition of our country as it was affected by her relation to the mother country, and to the other nations of the world, rather than to the condition of slavery; and that, in reference to the latter, they were to be received subject to be modified and limited in their operation, by *circumstances*?—Considered as applicable to individuals constituting separate independent communities,



these rights are to be interpreted without limitation; but when brought down to the case of individuals of the *same community*, they must ever receive a construction subject to many and great modifications. Thus "life" is declared to be one of the "inalienable rights;" yet, if a man, by murder committed but in a single instance, give evidence that he is possessed of such a temper as renders the continued enjoyment by himself of this right dangerous to the enjoyment and existence of the same right in others, it has been considered almost without dissent, that the "inalienable right" of life may be extinguished by the capital execution of the individual. Further, a man may properly be restrained of his "right of liberty," if the enjoyment of it be injurious to the enjoyment of the same right by others; and he may be stopped short "in the pursuit of happiness," unless he confine himself to such *modes* as shall not be pernicious to the happiness of others.

It will not be controverted on our part, that all abridgments of natural rights—all obstacles to their enjoyment, in themselves considered—and indeed that all punishment *in itself, independently of any ulterior good*, is an evil; and when it becomes necessary to carry it to a *capital* extent, a very great evil. Yet we do believe, that all gradations of punishment, even to the taking away of life, are justified upon the principle, *that there is in society an inherent power for self-preservation, which it is authorized to use for the removal of any evil, that, in its nature, tends to produce social dissolution, although it may be unavoidable that another evil be introduced instead of the one removed, provided it be of less magnitude.* If this principle be true, and it seems to us the only one upon which obedience to those institutions which hold society together can be demanded, or punishment for their transgression inflicted,—it follows, that there may be circumstances of such a character as to justify society in depriving individuals of even the most sacred and inalienable rights, and compelling the possessor to surrender them as a sacrifice to the *public good*; and that even slavery may continue to exist, where, in the honest conviction of those who control it, the continuance of that condition would be attended with less evil to society than would be its change in the mode proposed by the abolitionist. I would not be understood as contending for the position, that a denial of any of the rights to which men are entitled, absolutely, should be the end—the *ultimate object of civil or social institutions*; or that the enjoyment of these rights should be withheld for a moment, unless it be, in good conscience, for the prevention of some greater evil than that which is involved in their temporary suspension or in their total loss. J. G. BIRNEY,

June 18, 1833.

*Agent of the American Colonization Society.*

## INTELLIGENCE.

The Secretary of the Colonization Society having been permitted, in the good providence of God, again to return to the scene of his usual labours, cannot refrain from expressing to the numerous friends, in various places recently visited by him at the north, of the great cause with which he stands connected, his heartfelt sense of the kindness with which they have come forward to aid the object of his mission. Nothing would be more gratifying to his feelings than to mention the names of hundreds in the city of New York, and elsewhere, who, moved by the purest Christian motives, have not only contributed largely to promote the interests of the Colonization Society, but even substracted large amounts of time from the urgent pursuits of business, that they might expend them in earnest thought and labour for the advantage of that work of Humanity and Religion which this Society was established to promote. But he could not hope to do justice to his sense of the moral beauty and elevation of those

principles of action, which he has seen prompting numerous individuals to make large sacrifices of money and time and effort for the sake of an afflicted people, and for the purpose of founding and building up on a remote and barbarous shore monuments of Art and Civilization and Religion, to be, through all time, memorials in honour of American Benevolence. The resolutions recently adopted to raise \$10,000 in Boston and the state of Massachusetts; \$20,000 in the city and state of New York; and \$10,000 in Pennsylvania, cannot fail, if carried into effect, to give a powerful impulse to the cause of Colonization, and open new fountains of life and consolation to Africa.

### COLONIZATION DEBATE.

A highly interesting debate on Colonization and Abolition was held on the 5th and 6th instants, in the Tabernacle church, Philadelphia, between R. S. FINLEY, Esq. Agent of the N. York City Colonization Society, and Profes-

sor WRIGHT, of the New York Anti-Slavery Society. We believe the Colonization cause gained strength, by this debate, in the public judgment.

#### COLONIZATION MEETINGS.

"We learn," says the New York Observer of the 23d ult. "that public meetings have been held in Hudson, Catskill, and Troy, in aid of the American Colonization Society. These meetings were large and respectable: they were addressed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, and by distinguished citizens of these places, and resolutions were adopted (unanimously in Troy and Hudson, and with a very feeble opposition in Catskill,) expressing approbation of the Society, a general concurrence in the views entertained by the citizens of New York at their recent meeting in Masonic Hall, and a purpose of co-operating in the effort to raise \$20,000 for the Society. It was resolved to be expedient in Troy, to raise \$1,000 in that city towards this object, and \$365 were subscribed on the spot. Committees have been appointed not only there, but also in Hudson and Catskill, to obtain donations for the same object." Of the proceedings at the meeting at Hudson no detailed account has hitherto reached us. The following interesting account of the meeting at Troy is taken from the Daily Troy Press of November 19th:

*"Great Colonization Meeting.*—At a very large and respectable meeting, at which also many ladies attended, which convened, in pursuance of a notice, at the Court House last evening, STEPHEN WARREN, Esq. was called to the chair, and John T. McCoun appointed Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley, Secretary and Agent of the American Colonization Society being present, addressed the meeting at some length. He was listened to with attention; and his remarks, from the plain, simple and candid manner of the speaker, awakened deep interest.

After Mr. G. finished speaking, David Buel, Jr. offered the following resolution which he supported by an earnest address to the meeting. The facts stated by Mr. Buel being the result of his own personal observations in the southern States, on the condition of the colored population, the free as well as slaves, and of the feelings of our Southern brethren on the subject, produced a strong impression.

*Resolved,* That this meeting cordially approve of the design of the American Colonization Society, as alike friendly to the interests of our own country and of the whole African race. [Passed unanimously.]

Hiram P. Hunt, Esq. then offered the following resolution, and addressed the meeting in a few pertinent and brief remarks in relation to it.

*Resolved,* That in the view of this meeting, the moral influence of the Colonization Society, by exciting humane sentiments towards the slaves and preparing an asylum for such as may be liberated, where they may be elevated to real freedom, tends powerfully to promote the peaceful, voluntary and entire abolition of slavery. [Carried unanimously.]

The third resolution was offered by Mr. Joseph Russell. The remarks which he made by first drawing attention to the success of colonization, and its benefits among ourselves from the first settlement of our country, happily led the mind to those kindred benefits and influences which would result to Africa from the success of the colonization scheme.

*Resolved,* That the scheme of African Colonization commends itself to the affections of this meeting, as contributing speedily and extensively to bless Africa with our free and enlightened institutions and the Gospel of Christ. [Passed unanimously.]

J. P. Cushman having put certain inquiries to Mr. Gurley, touching the extent, situation and circumstances of the land on the coast of Africa, within the colony of Liberia, to which the title of the natives had been extinguished, to which Mr. Gurley gave immediate and satisfactory answers, and having also made some remarks bearing directly upon the substance of the resolution he held in his hand, offered the same. It is as follows:—

*Resolved,* That we concur generally in the views expressed by the citizens of New York, at their recent meeting in Masonic Hall, especially in regard to the expediency of raising twenty thousand dollars for the American Colonization Society, in this State, and that we will give to this measure our cheerful co-operation and aid. [Carried unanimously.]

John D. Willard, Esq. then offered the following resolution. Owing to the length to which the time of the meeting, though most agreeably and edifyingly spent, had been protracted, his remarks were brief. The resolution he had to offer was a *practical* one, and he trusted the mode in which the meeting would think proper to dispose of it, would show that it was composed not only of theoretical but *practical* colonizationists. He intimated that it would be readily seen his resolution was rather calculated to put that point to the test.

*Resolved,* That we will endeavor to raise in this city one thousand dollars in aid of the American Colonization Society, and that a committee be appointed to adopt such measures as they may deem expedient to effect this object. [Passed unanimously.]

Messrs. Hunt, Willard, and McConihe, were then named by the Chairman, a committee to circulate cards among the individuals present, for such contributions as they in view of the subject should feel justified to make. The sum of \$365 was immediately subscribed.

The following persons were then appointed Ward Committees to solicit donations from



our citizens generally, to carry into effect the 5th Resolution.

*First Ward.*—T. B. Bigelow and Dr. H. Stone.

*Second Ward.*—John D. Willard and John T. McCoun.

*Third Ward.*—Rufus Richards and Day O. Kellogg.

*Fourth Ward.*—Gurdon Grant and Abraham Van Tuyl.

A Resolution was then passed authorising the Ward Committees, at a suitable time, to call a meeting for forming a Society auxiliary to the American Colonization Society in this city. It was then Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published; and that the meeting adjourn.

STEPHEN WARREN, Chairman.

JOHN T. MCCOUN, Secretary."

The intelligent Editor of the Daily Troy Press remarks: "The meeting at the Court House last evening was a palpable demonstration of the power and strength of public opinion in this city on the subject of Colonization—a demonstration from which the friends of the cause at home and abroad, have substantial reasons to gather encouragement. The meeting was well attended, and has communicated *tone* and *action* to public feeling on the subject."

*From the Catskill Recorder, Nov. 28.*

At a meeting of the citizens of this village, on Wednesday evening 20th inst. to hear the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, explain the objects and views of the Society,—Mr. Gurley addressed the meeting at some length, after which Caleb Hopkins, Esq. was called to the Chair, and Dr. C. C. Hoagland to be Secretary of the meeting. Rev. Mr. Wyckoff offered the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this meeting the American Colonization Society is an Institution founded upon principles of enlarged patriotism and benevolence, worthy of the liberal support of the whole American community.

In support of this resolution, after it had been seconded by Rev. T. M. Smith, the Rev. Mr. Wyckoff spoke in a very impressive manner, and intimated that the meeting was probably unanimously in favor of the resolution. When he had concluded, the Rev. Mr. Dowling rose and denied the intimation. He was interrupted by a motion to adjourn, which not prevailing, he proceeded to show why he was opposed to the resolution. He

was followed in answer by Rev. Mr. Gurley, when the resolution was passed by acclamation, and with few dissenting voices. The following resolutions were then offered in their order, and passed in like manner:—

*Resolved*, That we will cheerfully co-operate with our fellow citizens of New York in their effort to raise \$20,000 for the Colonization Society.

*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of obtaining contributions in aid of the object proposed by the citizens of New York, and also should they think it expedient, to take measures for forming in this place, an Auxiliary Colonization Society.

*Resolved*, That this committee be Rev. Dr. Porter, Rev. J. N. Wyckoff, Rev. T. M. Smith, Orrin Day, Esq. and Thomas B. Cooke, Esq.

After which, the meeting adjourned.

CALEB HOPKINS, Chairman.

C. C. HOAGLAND, Secretary.

*Great Colonization Meeting in Philadelphia.*

A very large and respectable meeting was held in the Musical Fund Society Hall, Philadelphia, on the 9th instant, at which the Right Reverend Bishop WHITE presided. MATTHEW CAREY, Esq. was chosen Secretary.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, in a brief speech, explained the principles and object of the Institution, and invited to them the candid and charitable consideration of the audience.

ROBERT S. FINLEY, Esq. Agent of the New York City Colonization Society, then offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this meeting, the American Colonization Society is founded upon principles of enlarged benevolence, and entitled to the liberal support of all American Patriots and Christians.

On motion of ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. late Agent of the American Colonization Society in England, it was

*Resolved*, That the scheme of introducing civilization and Christianity into Africa, by the establishment of Christian colonies of free men of colour on her shores, is most happily adapted to unite the sympathies and charities of America and England, and indeed of the whole Christian world.

On motion of Rev. GREGORY T. BELLELL, D. D., seconded by the Right Rev. Bishop DOANE, of New Jersey, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

WHEREAS, in the opinion of this meeting, the Colony of Liberia opens a wide and encouraging field for the introduction and sup-

port of religious Teachers and Missionaries among the uncivilized tribes of Africa, therefore

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to raise in this city and state the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be entrusted to the Managers of the American Colonization Society, with the request that so much of said sum as may be necessary, be applied towards founding as early as practicable, in Liberia, or its vicinity, a settlement to bear the name of Pennsylvania.

The movers of the preceding resolutions sustained them with able and eloquent addresses—On motion by **MATTHEW CAREY, Esq.**, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed with power to add to their number, to adopt and execute such measures as they may deem best for carrying the last Resolution into speedy and complete effect.

#### PROPOSED SAVANNAH EXPEDITION.

The following extract of a letter from a highly intelligent and respectable coloured man in Savannah, cannot fail to be read with deep interest by all the Friends of our cause.

SAVANNAH, SEPT. 17, 1833.

*Respected and Dear Sir*—Your very polite and friendly favor of the 24th August came safe to hand; and on perusing the same, I was much pleased—also my friends. Your excuse for not answering my letter sooner, is quite satisfactory—nor did I think ill of you for not doing so; for I had seen, through the medium of newspapers and other publications, the many difficulties and severe conflicts you *had* and will have yet to encounter for this holy and praiseworthy cause which you have espoused. But I hope and trust that the Lord will bless and support you, and all that are engaged therein, with *wisdom, perseverance, zeal, and ability* to produce arguments sufficient to *silence* and bring to *naught* all the machinations and low designs of those who are inimical to and wish the destruction of our little but much loved Liberia, which can be justly called the *promised land*, or only hope for the poor, despised, and at present degraded sons and daughters of Africa and their descendants. I pray continually that the Lord may bless the friends and supporters of this truly philanthropic Institution—and that they may be endowed with *courage* from on high, insomuch that they may never be intimidated by the formidable *phalanx*, which are in array against them.

“You desired in yours that I would let you know the general sentiments of the free people of colour here. To this I can only reply that I am ashamed to say. But really they seem generally not to possess the feelings of men; for you cannot by reasoning prevail upon them to leave this for Liberia. They seem determined to stay where they are, preferring the empty name of freedom to that genuine *liberty* which the coloured man can enjoy no where but in Liberia. However, I thank God that there are a few worthy exceptions; for there are a few that will do honor to any community, who have made up their minds, and are only waiting an opportunity to go to this land of

privileges, let the sacrifice be what it may.—For my part, I am determined to go, God being my helper; for my soul *yearns* after poor benighted Africa; and I pity the poor unfeeling, callous hearted men of colour—particularly those who wear the holy appellation of Christian, and do not feel it to be their duty to go over and assist in this vast field of moral usefulness, and secure for themselves and those they ought to love as themselves, a country of liberty, together with its concomitant blessings.

I have received six letters from Philip Moore since he arrived in Liberia, also several from other emigrants who went over in the Hercules, and they generally were very encouraging. Moore says that he is much pleased, and that if he had ten times the sacrifices to make, he would cheerfully do so to reach that country, and recommends my doing so. T. Smith, from Florida, says that if the passage were six months instead of six weeks, he would cheerfully undertake it; and begs me to endeavor to assist his wife and children on. They are in Savannah, waiting an opportunity for Liberia.

#### AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The following letter to the Editor gives information that another Auxiliary Society has been organized in the State of Ohio:

Poland, Trumbull Co. Ohio, Nov. 26, 1833.

REV. & DEAR SIR—Agreeably to a suggestion in a late number of the Repository, I herewith transmit the proceedings had at the organization of a Society in this place, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, in March last. The subject of colonizing the free people of colour was one, upon which the people in this place had a very limited knowledge indeed. At the formation of the Society an address was delivered by the corresponding secretary, containing little else than a statement of facts of what the Parent Society proposed to do—what it had already done—of the prosperous condition of the Colony at Liberia; and such other matter as was gathered from the circular of the Managers of the American Colonization Society and the annual reports of the same. At the close of the meeting, many expressed their astonishment that so much had been done, and so much was now doing, and they ignorant of the fact.

About twenty dollars were subscribed by those who became members at the time, and some more has been added since. Our annual meeting will take place in January, when we shall remit the amount collected, and hope to increase our contributions, as well as members.

We have the promise of a visit from the agent of the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Society. His prospects in this vicinity are not very flattering. Great exertions are making throughout the Reserve by the friends of immediate emancipation, for organizing auxiliary societies to the Anti-Slavery Society.—The effect is, the increase of the friends of Colonization; the people are evidently awaking up to the cause. But I have already rendered this communication unnecessarily long for the object in view. I will only add the list of officers for the current year.



John McClelland, *President*.  
 Andrew Dickson, *Vice-President*.  
 William McCombs, *Treasurer*.  
 Selden Haynes, *Cor. Secretary*.  
 Archibald G. Botsford, *Rec. Secretary*.  
 Hugh Duncan, Joseph Truesdale, Ebenezer  
 S. Smith, *Managers*.

Respectfully your ob't. ser'vt,  
 S. HAYNES, *Cor. Secretary*.

*Vermont Colonization Society*.—The Report of the Vermont Colonization Society is published and distributed. One thousand copies were printed. Six copies were sent by mail to each of the officers living out of Montpelier, and the several members of the House of Representatives were requested to take six copies for the large towns, three for the small ones, and four for the medium towns. The following is a list of the officers:

Hon. Elijah Paine, Williamstown, *President*.

Horatio Seymour, Middlebury, Saml. Prentiss, Montpelier, *Vice Presidents*.

Hon. Heman Allen, Burlington; Rev. Willard Child, Pittsford; Rev. John K. Converse, Burlington; Rev. John Richards, Windsor; Hon. Phineas White, Putney; Hon. Israel P. Dana, Danville; Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Montpelier; Hon. Samuel Clark, Brattleborough; Hon. Thomas Emerson, Windsor; Hon. James Bell, Walden; Wylls Lyman, Esq., Burlington; Rev. Thomas A. Merrill, Middlebury, *Managers*.

Hon. Benjamin Swift, Hon. William Slade, *Delegates to the American Colonization Society*.  
 Daniel Baldwin, Esq., Montpelier, *Treasurer*.

Hon. Joseph Howes, Montpelier, *Auditor*.

Rev. Chester Wright, Montpelier, *Secretary*.

The Report of the Treasurer shows that collections have been taken in about 50 towns during the current year, and that from these and all other sources, a little short of six hundred dollars have been realized.

From a little experiment made since the annual meeting, it is demonstrated that this small sum is not all which the people of Vermont are willing to pay to this Society. It is believed they are willing to pay more than three times as much. It is believed that more than three hundred congregations in this State would have gladly contributed, if an opportunity had been given them. And it is hereby respectfully requested of all the leaders of public worship in Vermont, who have not asked their respective congregations for a collection for this Society, to make the experiment *on*, or on some Sabbath *near*, the approaching anniversary Thanksgiving. It is also requested of all who have received or may receive a copy of the Report, to endeavour to collect at least one dollar for the Society. It is moreover requested of the officers of the Society, that they will not suffer their highly respected and much honoured names to appear before the public as officers of a benevolent institution whose interests they make no exertions to promote. On the contrary, it is hoped that each of them will endeavour to make the six reports forwarded to them bring at least six dollars into the treasury.

Since the annual meeting, the subscriber

has received advices from the general agent, Mr. Gurley, of the pressing wants of the Society to enable them to carry forward their benevolent operations. All monies collected should be forwarded as soon as may be to Daniel Baldwin, Montpelier, the Society's Treasurer.

C. WRIGHT,

*Secretary of the Ver. Col. Soc.*

Montpelier, Nov. 12, 1833.

The subjoined extracts from the Report (the fourteenth in the annual series) referred to in the foregoing article, cannot fail to be deeply interesting to the friends of Colonization.

"The complaint that ardent spirits are sold and used in Liberia in abundance is very satisfactorily answered by A. D. Williams, Vice Agent of the Colony, (a coloured gentleman, who recently visited Boston,) in the following manner, in reply to questions proposed.

"Ardent spirits were an article introduced by slavers ever since the commencement of the slave trade, and had become an article of great demand. From my first arrival in the Colony, it has been my wish to abandon the use of ardent spirits, and not my wish only, but the wish of the principal citizens in the Colony. But to abolish it at once we found impracticable. In the early state of the Colony we were dependent on the natives, and had to use all means in our power to effect the great object for which we embarked. The time was when the Colonists themselves thought it advisable to use a little stimulus for the preservation of their health; and when we employed a native his first inquiries were, how much rum am I to have? And unless you would give them rum, you could scarce get them to work at all. We generally gave them at that time about two glasses a day. But the time has now arrived, when the Colonists, the principal part of them, find that the use of ardent spirits is an evil from which no good can arise. *Most of them have therefore abandoned the use of it entirely.* The natives that could not be hired at one time, without first agreeing to allow them their usual allowance of rum, will work for us at this time without scarcely mentioning the want of it. No public labourers in the Colony at this time are allowed rum. You find, sir, it is my opinion upon the whole, that moderate means should be used, if we expect to be successful. We have raised Temperance Societies in the Colony, and much good has resulted from them, and I have no doubt but in a short time the use of that article will not be known there."

"From this statement it appears that the Colony of Liberia is, at this moment, far in advance of our own country—far in advance of the far famed State of New-York in the temperance reformation. \* \* \* \*

"It is worthy of special and grateful notice that various events of recent occurrence shed a cheering light on the prospects of the African race.

"The governments of England and France have agreed to exercise the mutual right of search along the western coast of Africa, for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade.

"The government of Brazil has prohibited, under severe penalties, the further introduction of slaves into that extensive country.—Such as may be brought thither in future are declared to be free, and are to be sent back to Africa. Efforts are being made in France in favour of the slaves in the French Antilles. The recent discovery of the course of the Niger discloses a channel of communication with a population of many millions of people, which will soon be improved for the introduction of the gospel and other branches of useful knowledge among them, by missions from this country and from Europe. It is cheering to know, that missionary operations already in existence, and continually extending in various parts of the African coast, co-operating with the establishment of Colonies and other conspiring causes, promise to accomplish, at no distant day, the utter extermination of that infamous traffic in human flesh, which has been so long the crime and disgrace of the civilized (perhaps it should on this account be said, the half civilized) world." \* \* \*

After stating the *practical* character of the Colonizing policy, the Report thus proceeds:

"We can thus give to at least a small part of the slaves, and free blacks among them, advantages in Africa which we cannot give them here. And we have no fear that by so doing we shall diminish the comfort, or darken the prospects of those that remain. We know it has been urged in favour of this cause that colonizing the free will render the slaves more contented, less liable to insurrection, and more profitable to their employers. Be it so. It follows not from this that the design or tendency of colonizing is to perpetuate slavery, as our enemies have urged. Such a design never entered the heart of such men as Finley, and Mills, and Mercer, and Caldwell, and Harper, and other benevolent founders of the parent society. Who has forgotten the rapturous language in which the last named of these worthies described the future happiness and glory of his country and of Africa, when his vivid imagination beheld in perspective, the latter disenthralled and filled with the light of science and religion, and the former forever freed from the curse of slavery, by the process of colonization? We say not, that by such process, the delightful visions of that beloved man and honoured statesman will ever be realized. But we do say, that we pity those misguided friends of abolition, who would have it believed, that such men have, in forming and supporting this Society, entered into a conspiracy for perpetuating slavery.

"If by moral means as we believe, and not by acts of violence, slavery is to be abolished in this country, we do not believe that the better behaviour of the slaves will tend to rivet their chains, by rendering their masters less willing to enlarge them. So far from this is our belief, that could we speak to the slaves we would say to them,—be diligent in your work—be inflexibly honest—make the interest of your masters your own, and prove to them that you are capable of enjoying freedom without abusing it. In so doing, you will do right, and while you are doing right,

you will be doing the best that you can do to procure your freedom; in so doing, you will enlist the sympathies of your masters, and the sympathies of all good beings in your favour. \* \* \*

"We of the North utterly disavow all design of illegal interference with the social condition of our brethren of the South. We, of this Society and our sister auxiliaries, rejoice to believe, that many who have slaves in possession are waiting for an opportunity to resign them to the vessel that will carry them where their condition will be far better than, under existing circumstances, it can be rendered at home. Our high privilege is to aid in this benevolent work. \* \* \*

"It remains to state, that the wants of the Parent Society were never greater than now. In the last number of the Repository, the agent states, that without an increase of funds the Society will be incapable of sending expeditions to Liberia during the present year; he also states, that on the list of applicants for a passage, are hundreds recommended as deserving assistance, many of them slaves, ready to be liberated, and all waiting with anxiety for the means of removal to Africa, and emphatically asks, "Shall they appeal in vain to a generous and magnanimous people?"

"Brethren of the Vermont Colonization Society, and all ye people present, let our liberality to night, and let the liberality of our State answer the question, and let it echo from all our evergreen mountains, and let it be echoed from all the Auxiliary Societies of the North and of the South—*No! No!! No!!!*"

—  
We have received, and read with much interest, the tenth annual Report of the *Wilmington (Del.) Union Colonization Society*, made at the City Hall on the 27th of June last. The following passages, extracted from it, will excite general and deep attention:

"When the Colonization Society commenced its operations, it had to encounter chilling apathy in one quarter, and in another, zealous opposition. Many in the South looked upon its plans and movements as an unwarrantable interference in their concerns, while others viewed them as Utopian. But as the Society has moved on in its majestic course, and as its principles and designs have been developed, our brethren of the South have been found among its devoted friends. And in the South, so far as we know, none are now opposed to the Colonization Society but those who advocate perpetual slavery.

"But most violent opposition has arisen against the Society from another quarter, from which it was not expected; even from those who are anxious to secure the immediate and universal emancipation of the slaves. The New England Anti-Slavery Society is the source from which the opposition comes. From the title of this Society, and its opposition to the cause of colonization, one would suppose, who was ignorant of the facts, that the main design of the Colonization Society was to defend and advocate and perpetuate slavery. We now this charge is made against us. But



where is the reasoning—what are the facts to substantiate this charge? All the reasoning and the facts prove the opposite. When we consider the opposition of the abolitionists,\* we are ready to ask *cui bono*; to what purpose is this opposition? What evil has the Colonization Society done? If the abolitionists are in the right; if their plan is practicable—let them go on and prove it. We place no obstacle in their way. When they have proved this, if we do not fall in with their measures it will be time enough to reproach us for our cautious movements.

"The New-England Anti-Slavery Society agrees with us that slavery is a great moral and political evil, and that it is desirable that this evil should be removed entirely from our country. Here, then, is common ground.—On this point the friends of colonization and the abolitionists harmonize. In what, then, do they differ? As to the measures to be employed, they differ *toto coelo*. The abolitionists advocate immediate emancipation; whereas the friends of the Colonization Society say, let emancipation be effected gradually, so as to secure the real good of the individuals liberated, and at the same time the public safety. The abolitionists attack the slave-holder with all the invective that language can convey; while the friends of the Colonization Society use no railing accusation against their brethren of the South, but endeavour to win them by persuasion and indirect influence. It is true, the Society whose cause we advocate does not declare open war against slavery; and the reason is, this would secure the defeat of the very object it wishes to promote. Silence on this subject is an evidence of the wisdom of the Society, and not that it is secretly plotting the perpetual bondage of the slave.

"In our opinion, the Colonization Society presents the only safe and feasible plan for the liberation of our slaves from bondage. Let the Colonization Society be blotted out of existence, which seems to be the desire of the abolitionists, and at once you rob the Christian and the patriot of their cheering anticipations of Africa's redemption: and blight every hope they entertain respecting the emancipation of the slave population of America. If the day should ever arrive when the cause of African Colonization will expire under the blow inflicted by our brethren of the North, (who have in this cause more zeal than discretion, as we are compelled to believe), then the South will not be less zealous in opposing abolitionists. And if they refuse to emancipate the slaves, *who can compel them?* If this day ever comes, then the controversy will be between the advocates of immediate emancipation, and those who advocate perpetual slavery. Here will be no common ground. Then the friends of colonization will retire from the arena, and weep over the blighted hopes of Africa's redemption, which they once fondly cherished.

"Let those, therefore, who are opposed to

the Colonization Society consider what will be secured if they succeed in their opposition. The angry contest will burn in every part of the land; the North and South will be at war, and while thus exasperated, the southern people instead of alleviating the woes of the slave, will become callous to all his miseries. It is our deliberate conviction that the abolitionists are the enemies of the slaves of this land. In speaking thus, we do not design to malign their motives; but we say their measures tend to awaken the prejudices and opposition of the slave-holders, and the discontent of the slave. Instead, therefore, of abolishing slavery, the New England Anti-Slavery Society is in our opinion pursuing a course that will secure its perpetuity.

"But though we have expressed ourselves thus, we do not in the least fear the result of the present controversy. It no doubt has been ordered by the Disposer of all events, for good to this Society. Already it has awakened much inquiry on this subject; and many who have been hitherto opposed to the Colonization Society have been led to espouse this noble cause. The course pursued by abolitionists is advancing the interests of the Colonization Society, more than any thing else. The number of its friends is increasing, and those who were previously friends, are becoming more decided."

John Wales, Esq. addressed the meeting.—In his address he showed that of all the plans devised for the benefit of the man of colour, none had so strong a claim upon the patriot, the Christian, or the philanthropist, as the American Colonization Society.

Dr. A. Naudain was appointed to represent this Society at the next annual meeting of the American Col. Society, to be held in Washington city, on the third Monday of January 1834.

The Society proceeded to the election of Officers for the ensuing year; when the following persons were chosen:

Hon. Willard Hall, *President*.

Rev. Isaac Pardee, *First Vice-President*.

Rev. E. W. Gilbert, *Second do*.

Rev. Robert Adair, *Secretary*.

Mr. Allan Thomson, *Treasurer*.

*Managers*—John Wales, Esq., H. Gibbons, M. D., Messrs. Thomas Young, John B. Lewis, Robert Porter, and James Watson.

*Tennessee Colonization Society*.—The Tennessee Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, held their anniversary meeting at Nashville, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Monday, October 14th. The President stated to the meeting the object of the Society, when James G. Birney, Esq. the General Agent of the American Colonization Society, for the South Western States, addressed the meeting at some length on the designs and prospects of the Society, and the necessity of increased support. After which, the Corresponding Secretary read the following report of the proceedings of the Society for the past year:

"The Managers of the Tennessee Colonization Society, in presenting their Annual Report, have but little to say regarding the proceedings of the Society for the past year.—Many causes, unnecessary to dwell upon here,

\* The term *abolitionists*, in this Report, is used to designate those who are the friends and advocates of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. This Society is waging a war of extermination against the American Colonization Society.

have combined to delay their entering actively upon the benevolent and important work assigned to them. With very limited resources, arising from the very limited interest hitherto taken in the cause, by the people of this State, they have not felt themselves competent to do more than commence the good work.—At the last meeting of the Society, it was expected that a small body of emigrants would proceed immediately from this State to Liberia. Circumstances, however, principally arising out of the fatal disease then prevailing along the rivers, and at New Orleans, caused the emigration to be deferred until the spring. In the last of March and the beginning of April last, emigrants to the number of forty-one, including men, women, and children, left this place in various steam-boats, provided with such needful things as could hastily be provided for them, for New Orleans. They reached that city safely, and embarked again at that place in the brig Ajax for Liberia, under the charge of Mr. A. King, a native and resident of this State, and accompanied by a body of emigrants from Kentucky. They left New Orleans in good health, with fair prospects, and followed by the good wishes of many. No certain intelligence has been heard from them since that period, although the return of the agent is now daily looked for, and the Board will doubtless take immediate measures to communicate to the public any information they may be able to receive from him.

“At the time of the departure of the emigrants from Nashville, the treasurer had in his possession the sum of \$422 25, which whole amount was consumed in paying their expenses, and only a very small sum having been since received, the treasury is now nearly empty.

“If the Managers can be sustained in this good work, by public opinion, no doubt need be entertained that the public safety and the public good may be advanced by it, and that the coloured free people of this country may not only be transferred to a region in which they will enjoy all the rights of man, but also, that through them, civilization, the principles of American liberty, and religion, may be diffused throughout what is now the most benighted region of the earth.”

The account of the treasurer for the past year was then submitted. His receipts appear to have been \$464 50, and his expenditures \$452 25.

A collection for the funds of the Society, amounting to fifty-four dollars, was then taken up. Several persons then became members of the Society, and subscribed the constitution.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, when the following persons were duly chosen:

Rev. Philip Lindsley, D. D., *President*.

Samuel G. Smith, Joseph Woods, Dr. John Shelby, George Brown, John M. Bass, *Vice-Presidents*.

H. L. Douglass, Rev. John T. Edgar, A. W. Johnson, Joseph P. Brown, Samuel D. Morgan, Nathaniel Cross, *Managers*.

Robert H. McEwen, *Recording Secretary*.

Rev. Geo. Weller, *Corresponding Secretary*.

John P. Erwin, *Treasurer*.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held on Monday, Oct. 21, it was

*Resolved*, That the Secretaries give notice through the public prints, that it is the intention of this Board to send from this place, by the way of New Orleans, sometime in the month of March next, such free people of colour as shall previously give notice of their intention to emigrate to Liberia, and shall present themselves at Nashville, or be ready to depart from some point in the State below Nashville, by the first day of March, 1834.—Application may be made to either of the Secretaries, or to any other officer of the Society.

#### DEATH OF CECIL ASHMUN.

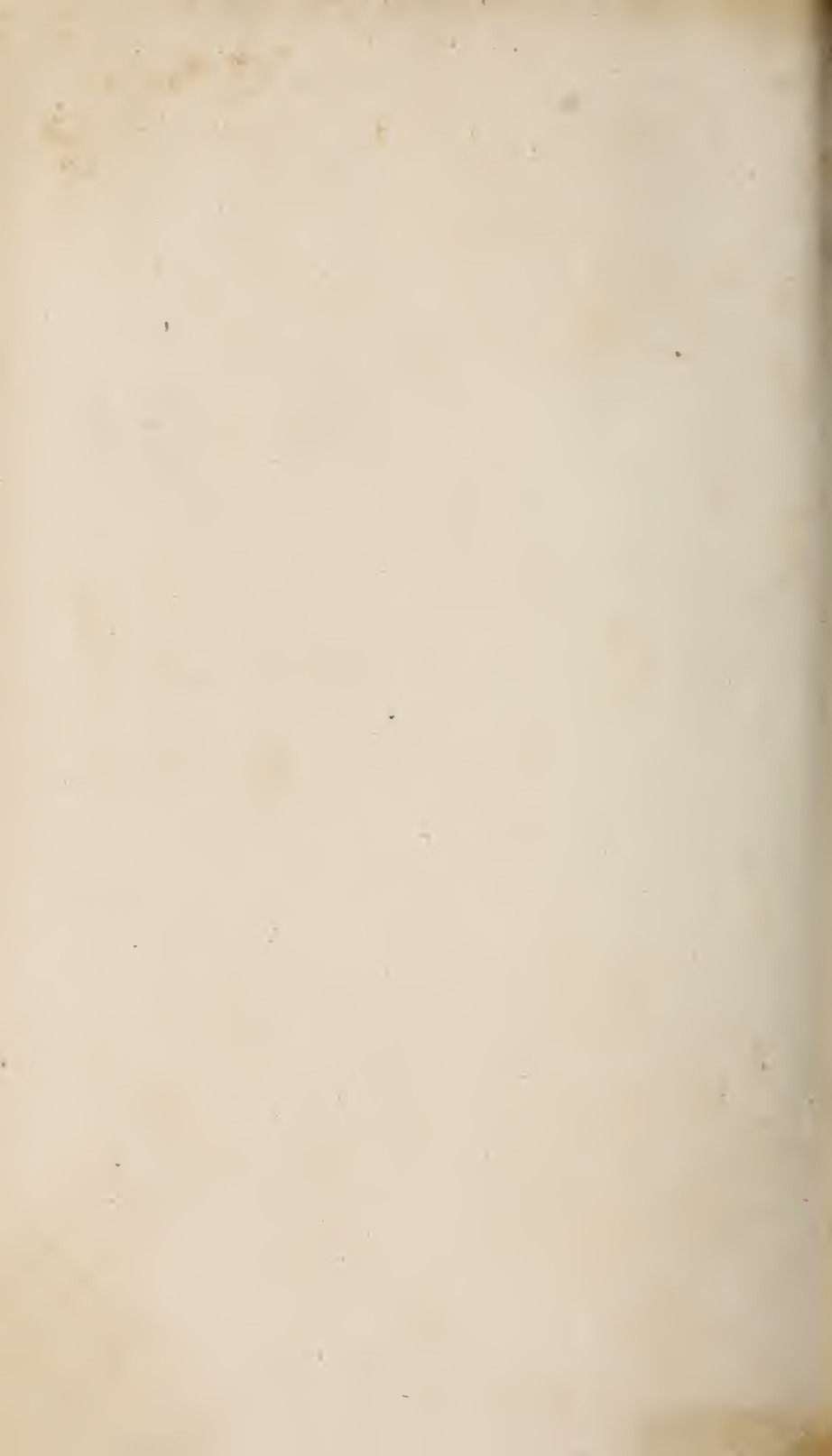
This poor African boy, who had been rescued from pirates by the lamented Ashmun, and brought to this country that he might be educated for usefulness among his countrymen, died in this city on the 26th ult. For two or three years after his arrival in the United States, he attended the African Free School in New York, where he acquired a tolerable English education. He was then placed with the Publisher of this work, who afforded him every facility in qualifying himself to become a printer in the Colony; and it was expected that he would be capable in two years of managing a press in Liberia. Though his early habits of life had been very unfavourable to his moral character, the religious instruction which he received was not, it is believed, lost upon him; as there were times when he was deeply serious and concerned for his salvation. This was particularly the case, during his last illness, and near the close of life he manifested what was reasonably hoped to be a truly Christian spirit. No mother, sister, relative, watched by him in his dying hour, or wept over his grave! He was stolen in childhood from his home, rescued from cruel hands by a noble friend of his race; brought to a Christian country, to learn something of God, the Saviour, and his own immortal destiny, and to die! How many African children experience a fate less tolerable than his! How few one so full of mercy and of hope!

✂ *Professor Green's Letter* shall appear in our next number.

We are under the necessity of also postponing to our next number, the list of Contributions to the Society.









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